DIO CHRYSOSTOM

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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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DIO CHRYSOSTOM

THE THIRTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: THE CORINTHIAN ORATION

This Discourse is plainly not the work of Dio. It is inferior in style, replete with allusions, and often out of harmony with accepted tradition as to matters of history. Moreover, the speaker calls himself a Roman (§§ 25 and 26). Emperius long ago named Favorinus as the author, and that identification has met with general approval.

The most detailed information regarding Favorinus is provided by Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum* 1. 8, though Aulus Gellius, who had studied under Favorinus, often praises his learning. Favorinus was a native of Arelatê (Arles). He may have obtained his early education at Marseilles, where he could have acquired that facility with the Greek language of which he was so proud (§§ 25, 26, 33). According to Philostratus, he was said to have listened to Dio, but to have been "as far removed from him as those who hadn't." He created a great stir in Rome, even among those who knew no Greek but were "charmed by the sound of his voice, the significance of his glance, and the rhythm of his tongue."

Favorinus at first enjoyed the favour of Hadrian, but he lost it, at least for a time, when accused of adultery with the wife of a consul. In consequence, the Athenians threw down the bronze statue with which they had honoured him. It is perhaps that incident to which he makes veiled allusion in § 35. One infers from §§ 32-36 that Corinth had taken similar

action for the same reason, but the peroration, in which the speaker seems to be apostrophizing the missing statue, is very mystifying. A literal reading of the passage would lead to the supposition that there is some hocus pocus by means of which the statue is suddenly placed on view, a prearranged unveiling, as it were. However, Edmonds may be right (*Lyra Graeca*, I p. 237, L.C.L.) in identifying the *σιγηλὸν εἴδωλον* of § 46 with the oration then being delivered rather than with any statue, real or imaginary. In that case Favorinus might be regarded as dedicating his address to posterity. That he had escaped punishment at the hands of Hadrian might be inferred from the confident tone of §§ 34 and 35, even if we lacked the express testimony of Philostratus. That he should have travelled widely was to be expected in the case of a man of his calling and reputation, and he refers to his travels with much pride in §§ 26 and 27. His most famous pupil was doubtless Herodes Atticus, whom he made his heir.

This Discourse may have been included among the works of Dio because of its superficial likeness to Or. 31 in subject matter, since both dealt with the popular custom of erecting statues and with the strange fate that sometimes overtook such marks of esteem.

ΔΙΩΝ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

37. ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ

1 Ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεδήμησα τῇ πόλει τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ, ἀφ' οὗ δέκα ἔτη σχεδόν, καὶ τῶν λόγων μετέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς τέλεσι τοῖς ὑμετέροις, ἔδοξα ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι ἔτι δ' οἰ κεῖος[1] ὑμῖν οὕτω σφόδρα ὡς οὐδὲ Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος. Ἀρίονος μέν γε τύπον οὐκ ἐποιήσασθε. ὅταν δὲ ὑμᾶς λέγω, τοὺς προγόνους λέγω τοὺς ὑμετέρους καὶ Περίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου τὸν σοφόν, ἐφ' οὗ Ἀρίων ἐγένετο, ὃς[2] καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησε καὶ ὠνόμασε καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

2 Θεοφιλὴς μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἦν ὥστε ἀναπλέων ἐνταῦθα μετὰ χρημάτων μεγάλων, ὧν ἔτυχεν εἰργασμένος περὶ Τάραντα καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖσε Ἕλληνας, μέλλων εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ὑπὸ τῶν πορθμέων ἐκπεσεῖν δι' αὐτά που ταῦτα τὰ χρήματα, παρῃτήσατο αὐτοὺς πρὸ τῆς ἐκβολῆς ᾆσαι, ὥσπερ φασὶ

[1] οἰκεῖος added by Capps; Wilamowitz deletes ἔτι δὲ.
[2] ὃς] omitted by Arnim with M m. pr.

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[1] On the north coast of Lesbos.
[2] Periander was generally included among the Seven

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THE THIRTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: THE CORINTHIAN ORATION

When I visited your city the first time, nearly ten years ago, and gave your people and magistrates a sample of my eloquence, I seemed to be on friendly, yes intimate, terms with you to a degree not equalled even by Arion of Methymnê.[1] At any rate you did not have a statue made of Arion. Of course when I say you, I am speaking of your forebears and of Periander the sage,[2] son of Cypselus, in whose day Arion flourished, being the first not only to compose a dithyramb [3] but also to call it by that name and to present a dithyrambic chorus in Corinth.

Now Arion was so dear to the gods that, when on his voyage back to Corinth, bringing great riches which he had had the good fortune to win by his labours in the neighbourhood of Tarentum and among the Greeks of that region, as he was about to be cast into the sea by the sailors—no doubt because of that very wealth of his—he besought them ere they threw him overboard to let him sing, just as men say that

Sages. He was tyrant of Corinth toward the end of the 7th century B.C.

[3] The dithyramb was a choral song in honour of Dionysus. Aristotle, *Poetics* 1449 a, finds in it the germ of tragedy.

*τοὺς κύκνους μέλλοντας ἀποθνήσκειν καὶ προορωμένους τὸν θάνατον ἐμβιβάζειν τὴν ψυχὴν οἷον εἰς
3 ὄχημα τὸ μέλος. ὁ μὲν δὴ ᾖδε· καὶ γὰρ ἦν νηνεμία καὶ σιγὴ κατὰ θάλατταν· καὶ τὸ μέλος ᾔσθοντο δελφῖνες, αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ περὶ τὴν ναῦν ὥρμησαν.*[1] *παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρίονος καὶ τῶν πορθμέων οὐδὲν μαλακὸν*[2] *ἐνδιδόντων, ὁ μὲν ἔρριψεν εἰς τὸν πόντον, δελφὶς δ' ὑπελθὼν ἐξεκόμισε τὸν ᾠδὸν ἐπὶ Ταίναρον ὡς εἶχε σὺν τῇ σκευῇ. Ἀρίων μὲν οὖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον σωθεὶς καὶ φθάσας τοὺς πορθμέας ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἦν, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα διηγούμενος
4 τῷ Περιάνδρῳ. ἐπικαταγομένων δὲ τῶν πορθμέων καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀχθέντος εἰς ἔλεγχον, οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνῃσκον, Ἀρίων δέ, οὐ γὰρ Περίανδρος, ἀλλ' Ἀρίων, ποιησάμενος μίμημα χαλκοῦν οὐ μέγα ἀνέθηκεν ἐπὶ Ταινάρου,*[3] *αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐεργέτου καθήμενον.*

*Ἐγένετο δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ Σόλων μὲν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, φεύγων τὴν Πεισιστράτου
5 τυραννίδα, οὐ φεύγων δὲ τὴν Περιάνδρου. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅμοιον· ὁ μὲν καταλύσας τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐτυράννευε τῶν Ἀθηναίων, Περίανδρος δὲ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν, ὃν οἱ μὲν*

[1] *περὶ τὴν ναῦν ὥρμησαν* Capps, *περὶ τὴν ναῦν ἦσαν* Herwerden, *περιένευσαν* Naber, *περὶ τὴν ναῦν συνῆσαν* Arnim: *περὶ ναῦν ἦσαν*,

[2] *μαλακὸν*] *μᾶλλον* UB.

[3] *καὶ* after *Ταινάρου* deleted by Emperius.

swans about to die and foreseeing their death are wont, as it were, to put their soul on board "the bark of song."[1] So then he sang—calm and silence brooded on the deep—and dolphins heard his song, and as they heard it they rushed about the ship. And when Arion ceased and the sailors showed no relenting, he leaped into the sea; but a dolphin rose beneath him and carried the singer in safety to Taenarum[2] just as he was, gear and all. So then Arion, saved in this manner and having outstripped the sailors, was in Corinth narrating these very happenings to Periander. And when the sailors later entered port and the matter was brought to trial, the sailors were put to death, but Arion—not Periander, mark you, but Arion—ordering a bronze likeness of no great size, set it up at Taenarum, a likeness of himself astride the back of his benefactor.[3]

And about this same time Solon too came to Corinth, fleeing from the tyranny of Peisistratus,[4] but not from that of Periander. No, for that was a different matter—while Peisistratus was tyrant of Athens through having destroyed the democracy, Periander was tyrant through having received the royal power by inheritance from his father, whom the

[1] Possibly a reminiscence of Pindar, frag. 89: ὄχημα ἀοιδᾶν.

[2] Southernmost cape of Laconia, mod. Cape Matapan.

[3] We meet this famous tale first in Herodotus (1. 23-24), who, however, does not tell of the execution of the pirates or who ordered the statue. Pausanias says the quaint monument was still at Taenarum in his day. Aelian, *H.A.* 12. 45, preserves the dedicatory inscription:

ἀθανάτων πομπαῖσιν Ἀρίονα Κυκλέος υἱὸν
ἐκ Σικελοῦ πελάγους σῶσεν ὄχημα τόδε.

[4] This visit of Solon is nowhere else recorded.

Ἕλληνες τύραννον ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ θεοὶ βασιλέα. ἢ γὰρ οὐχ οὕτως ὁ χρησμὸς ἔχει;

ὄλβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον εἰσαφικάνει,
Κύψελος Ἠετίδης, βασιλεὺς κλειτοῖο Κορίνθου,
αὐτὸς καὶ παῖδες.

6 ὧν εἷς αὐτὸς ὁ Περίανδρος ὁ τῷ πατρὶ ἐκδεξάμενος. οὕτω δὴ Περίανδρος, ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλεύς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀνηγορεύθη σοφός· οὗ μεῖζον ὄνομα οὐδεὶς πώποτε βασιλεὺς ἢ τύραννος ἐκτήσατο· ἀλλ' οὐδ' Ἀντίοχος ὁ θεὸς ἐπικληθεὶς οὐδὲ[1] Μιθριδάτης ὁ Διόνυσος. ηὔξατο δ' ἂν καὶ Πιττακὸς Μυτιληναῖος ἅμα ἄμφω κεκλῆσθαι καὶ τύραννος καὶ σοφός· νυνὶ δὲ περιεχόμενος τοῦ δευτέρου ὀνόματος ἀπεσκευάσατο τὴν τυραννίδα. καίτοι[2] Περίανδρος σοφὸς μὲν ἦν μετ' ὀλίγων, τύραννος δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν· ἀμφότερα δὲ
7 καὶ τύραννος καὶ σοφὸς μόνος. παρὰ τοῦτον ὁ Σόλων ἐλθὼν καὶ τυχὼν τῶν κοινῶν· κοινὰ γὰρ τὰ φίλων· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀνδριάντος οὐκ ἔτυχεν, οὐ δήπου καταφρονῶν ἀνδριάντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ[3] ἐν Σαλαμῖνι χαλκοῦς ἑστάναι μέγα ποιούμενος· πόθεν γε δὴ οὐχὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ἐν τῷ περιπάτῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος; ἧκε δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ λογοποιὸς ὡς ὑμᾶς λόγους φέρων Ἑλληνικοὺς ἄλλους τε καὶ

[1] οὐδὲ Emperius: οὔτε.
[2] καίτοι Crosby: καί, which Arnim deletes.
[3] καὶ τὸ Reiske: καίτοι.

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[1] *Tyrant* at first meant merely absolute ruler. Homer records several instances in which divine names were different from human names, e.g., *Iliad* 1. 403-404 and 2. 813-814.
[2] Cf. Herodotus 5. 92.
[3] I.e., Antiochus II (286–246 B.C.).

Greeks were wont to call tyrant, though the gods called him king.[1] For is not this the way the oracle has it?

> A happy man is he who to my fane
> Doth come, Eëtion's Cypselus, the king
> Of famous Corinth, he and his children too.[2]

One of these children was Periander himself, who succeeded his father. So then Periander, called king by the god, was proclaimed a sage by the Greeks. No better title did any king or tyrant ever gain, no, not even Antiochus, surnamed Divine,[3] nor Mithridates, surnamed Dionysus.[4] And even Pittacus of Mitylenê might have been proud to be called at one and the same time both tyrant and sage: but, as a matter of fact, in clinging to the second title he stripped himself of his tyranny.[5] Yet as for Periander, while he shared the name of sage with a few and that of tyrant with many, as both tyrant and sage he stood alone. Well then, when Solon visited Periander and received a share of their common possessions—for the possessions of friends are held in common [6]—still he received no statue, though surely he did not disdain a statue, no, he esteemed highly the honour of having had a bronze likeness of himself set up at Salamis [7]: then why not so at Corinth, the promenade of Hellas? Again, Herodotus the historian also paid you a visit, bringing tales of Greece,

[4] Mithridates Eupator (132–63 B.C.). Appian and Plutarch attest the surname.
[5] Elected *aesymnetes* in 589 B.C., he resigned ten years later.
[6] A familiar proverb; cf. Euripides, *Orestes* 735.
[7] Aeschines, *in Timarchum* 25, says the statue stood in the market-place of Salamis.

Κορινθίους οὐδέπω ψευδεῖς, ἀνθ' ὧν ἠξίου παρὰ τῆς πόλεως μισθὸν ἄρνυσθαι. διαμαρτὼν δὲ καὶ τούτου· οὐ γὰρ ἠξίουν οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι δόξαν ἀγοράζειν· μετεσκεύασεν ἐκεῖνα ἃ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, τὰ περὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα καὶ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον.

8 Ἡμᾶς δὲ δὶς ἐπιδημήσαντας οὕτως ἀσμένως ἐπείδετε[1] ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν[2] ἐπειρᾶσθε κατέχειν, ὁρῶντες δὲ ἀδύνατον ὄν, ἀλλά γε[3] τὴν εἰκὼ τοῦ σώματος ἐποιήσασθε καὶ ταύτην φέροντες ἀνεθήκατε εἰς τὰ βιβλία, εἰς προεδρίαν, οὗ μάλιστ' ἂν ᾤεσθε τοὺς νέους προκαλέσασθαι τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἔχεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἕνα τῶν πολλῶν καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καταιρόντων εἰς Κεγχρεὰς ἔμπορον ἢ θεωρὸν ἢ πρεσβευτὴν ἢ διερχόμενον, ἀλλ' ὡς[4] μόλις διὰ μακρῶν χρόνων ἀγαπητὸν ἐπιφαινόμενον, οὕτως ἐτιμήσατε.

9 τιμὴ δ' ἠΰτ' ὄνειρος ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται.

ὥστε ἐμὲ ἐν ἀπόρῳ καθεστάναι καὶ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν καὶ νὴ Δία ἤδη πρὸς ἕτερον, πότερ' ὡς ἀληθῶς οὐκ ἔβλεπον, οὐδὲ ὕπαρ ἀλλὰ ὄναρ ἦν τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἢ τὰ μὲν ἦν ταῦτα ταῖς πάσαις ἀκριβείαις, σπουδή τε τοῦ[5] πλήθους καὶ κρίσις τῆς βουλῆς, ὁ δ' ἀνδριὰς τῶν Δαιδάλου ποιημάτων ἔτυχεν ὢν

[1] ἐπείδετε Reiske : ἐπειδήγε.
[2] ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν Emperius : ὡς ἂν μάλιστά με.
[3] γε Selden : καί.
[4] ἀλλ' ὡς Casaubon : ἄλλως. [5] τοῦ Reiske : τις.

[1] Herodotus (8. 94) reports the Athenian claim that at the beginning of the battle Adeimantus, the Corinthian commander, fled with his contingent. Meeting with an unknown vessel whose crew taunted the Corinthians with cowardice and announced the victory of the Greek forces, he turned

and in particular tales of Corinth—not yet fallacious tales—in return for which he expected to receive pay from the city. But failing of obtaining even that—for your forebears did not deem it fitting to traffic in renown—he devised those tales we all know so well, the tales about Salamis and Adeimantus.[1]

However, in my own case, upon my second visit to Corinth you were so glad to see me that you did your best to get me to stay with you, but seeing that to be impossible, you did have a likeness made of me, and you took this and set it up in your Library, a front-row seat as it were,[2] where you felt it would most effectively stimulate the youth to persevere in the same pursuits as myself. For you accorded me this honour, not as to one of the many who each year put in at Cenchreae[3] as traders or pilgrims or envoys or passing travellers, but as to a cherished friend, who at last, after a long absence, puts in an appearance.

Yet Honour, dreamlike, takes wing and flies away.[4]

Therefore I have come to be perplexed, not only as to my own case, but now, by Heaven, as to that of some one else[5] as well, wondering whether I did not truly see, and what took place was not the happenings of my waking moments but merely a dream, or whether the events were really so in all detail, both the enthusiasm of the populace and the decision of the Council, and yet, as luck would have it, the statue

back and reached the scene of battle when the action was already decided. Plutarch, *de Herod. malig.* 39, charges Herodotus with unfairness toward Corinth and Adeimantus, but he does not impute to him a mercenary motive.

[2] The privilege of προεδρία was highly prized at Athens.

[3] Port of Corinth on the eastern side of the Isthmus.

[4] *Odyssey* 11. 222. Favorinus substitutes τιμὴ for ψυχὴ.

[5] I.e., some one else may have had a similar experience.

10 καὶ λαθὼν ἡμᾶς ἀπέδρα. ἀλλ' ἀφ' οὗ Δαίδαλος ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐδεὶς εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξίκετο τῆς τέχνης μέχρι τοῦ καὶ δρασμὸν ἐμποιεῖν τῷ χαλκῷ· ἀλλὰ διαβεβηκότας μὲν εὖ καὶ καλῶς ποιοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἵππων ὀχουμένους· μένουσι μέντοι οὗτοι πάντες κατὰ σχῆμα καὶ χώραν, κἂν μή τις αὐτοὺς μετακινήσῃ, τό γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι[1] χαλκὸς ἄδραστος, ἂν καὶ πτερὰ ἔχῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου Περσεύς.

11 Ἵνα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας τέχνης ᾖ τῆς Δαιδαλείου, τί παθὼν ἂν ὑμῶν ἀπηλλάγη τῆς πόλεως, ὑπὲρ ἧς τοὺς δύο θεούς φασιν ἐρίσαι, Ποσειδῶνα καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον, τὸν μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς κύριον, τὸν δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος; ἐρίσαντε δὲ καὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἐπιτρέψαντε τρίτῳ θεῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ, οὗ

πλεῖσται μὲν κεφαλαί, πλεῖσται δέ τε χεῖρες,

τούτῳ τὴν δίαιταν ἐπιτρέψαντες ἀμφότεροι τήνδε τὴν πόλιν καὶ[2] τὴν χώραν ἔχουσιν· οὔτι που μικρὸν οὐδ' ἀμυδρὸν σημεῖον τῆς πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας
12 ὑπεροχῆς. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι λήξεις τε καὶ κτήσεις τῶν θεῶν κατὰ μόνας εἰσίν· Ἄργος μὲν Ἥρας, Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ Ἀθῆναι· καὶ αὐτῶν γε τούτων τῶν

[1] εἶναι Selden : εἴη. [2] καὶ M : τε καὶ UB.

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[1] On the miraculous powers of Daedalus, see Plato, *Euthyphro* 11 c.

[2] This sculptor, like his contemporary Myron, was skilled in depicting movement. The close association of Perseus

was one of the works of Daedalus and slipped away without our notice.[1] However, not since the death of Daedalus down to the present day has any one made such progress in the art of sculpture as to impart to bronze the power of flight; nay, though they make statues of men with a fine and noble stride, and sometimes even riding on horseback, still these all maintain their pose and station and, unless some one moves them, so far as they are concerned bronze has no power to flee, not even if the statue has wings, like the Perseus of Pythagoras.[2]

But supposing my statue to be actually of the ancient craftsmanship of Daedalus, for what strange reason would it have taken leave of *your* city, the city for which they say the two gods, Poseidon and Helius, vied with one another, the one being lord of fire, the other lord of water? And after the twain had striven and had entrusted the decision to a third god who was their elder,

> Whose heads were many, many too his arms,[3]

having, as I say, left to him the decision, they both have held this city and district ever since,[4] surely no slight or obscure sign of its superiority over all other cities. For while the others are the portion and property of the gods individually—Argos of Hera and Athens of Athena—and while, with reference to these very gods of whom I speak, Rhodes belongs to

with Corinth suggests that the statue in question may have been set up there.

[3] Author unknown. The allusion is to Briareüs.

[4] Pausanias (2. 1. 6) reports as a Corinthian tradition that Poseidon and Helius strove with each other for possession of Corinth, and that Briareüs awarded the Isthmus to Poseidon and to Helius "the height which dominates the city," i.e., Acrocorinth.

θεῶν Ῥόδος μὲν Ἡλίου, Ὀγχηστὸς δὲ Ποσειδῶνος, Κόρινθος δὲ ἑκατέρων. εἰκάσαις ἂν αἰνιττομένου τοῦ μύθου τὸ τῆς γῆς ἐν μέσῳ δύο πελαγῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡλίου ἐξαίρετον[1] βουλομένου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος.[2]

13 Τὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μύθου τε καὶ τοῦ λόγου, τῇδέ πῃ συνᾴδοντα,[3] τρίτην ἐπὶ τρισσαῖς χάρισι[4] τὴν θεσπιῳδὸν Σίβυλλαν παρακαλεῖ· τιμὴν δέ οἱ[5] θεοῦ φωνὴν λαχοῦσα ᾄδει μάλα μέγα·

—εὔδαιμον τί τοι ὧδ', ὡς[6] ὄλβιος αὐχὴν
Ὠκεανοῦ κούρης Ἐφύρης, γαῖ'[7] ἔνθα Ποσειδῶν,
μητρὸς ἐμῆς Λαμίας γενέτωρ, προύθηκεν ἀγῶνα
πρῶτος ἅμ' Ἡελίῳ, τιμὰς δ' ἠνέγκατο μοῦνος;

14 καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ ἀγῶνα πρῶτον ἐνταυθοῖ τεθῆναί φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν δύο θεῶν, καὶ νικῆσαι Κάστορα μὲν στάδιον, Κάλαϊν δὲ δίαυλον· καὶ γὰρ Κάλαϊν φασι δραμεῖν, ἀπεχόμενον τοῦ πέτεσθαι. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐπείπερ ἠρξάμεθα, ἀθλοφόρους τε λεχθῆναι καὶ νικηφόρους. Ὀρφεὺς κιθάρᾳ, Ἡρακλῆς παμμάχιον,[8] πυγμὴν Πολυδεύκης, πάλην

[1] ἐξαίρετον] ξηρανθὲν Geel.
[2] βουλομένου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος] Bethe deletes.
[3] συνᾴδοντα Geel : συνᾴδονται.
[4] τρισσαῖς χάρισι] δισσαῖς χάρισι Geel, δισσοῖς μάρτυσι Arnim.
[5] τιμὴν δέ οἱ Crosby, τρανῇ δὲ ἐκ Arnim : τῇ μὴ δέ οἱ M, τιμῇ δέοι U, τιμῇ δέ οἱ B.
[6] εὔδαιμον τί τοι ὧδ', ὡς Emperius, εὐδαίμων πιτυώδεος Arnim : ὦ δαίμων τι τύω δέος M, ὦ δαῖμον τί τοι ὧδε ὃς UB.
[7] γαῖ' added by Post.
[8] παμμάχιον Baguet : πάμμαχον.

[1] Onchestus, in Boeotia, though in ruins in the time of Pausanias, had been prominent in the worship of Poseidon. Cf. *Iliad* 2. 506 and *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 229-238.

Helius and Onchestus to Poseidon.[1] Corinth belongs to each of the two. You might imagine, since the myth suggests it, that the strip of land between two seas was an exceptional grant made by Helius because Poseidon wished it so.

Now then, both myth and history, while singing in fair harmony on this theme, invite the Sibyl of prophetic song as a third for their trio of praise: and she, having obtained as her prerogative the voice of a god, sings aloud:

What place to thee so happy as the blest
Isthmus of Ephyrê,[2] Ocean's child, whereon
Poseidon, sire of Lamia,[3] mother mine,
Did first with Helius appoint the games,[4]
Though his alone the honours there received?

For the fact is, you know, men say not only that the contest was first established there by the two gods, but also that Castor won the single course and Calaïs the double—for we are told that Calaïs ran, refraining from flying.[5] But now that we have broached the subject, the others too who were prize-winners and victors should be named. Orpheus was victorious with the lyre, Heracles in the rough-and-tumble, in boxing Polydeuces, in wrestling Peleus, in the discus

[2] An ancient name for Corinth. Cf. *Iliad* 6. 152.

[3] Not the vampire with which nurses frightened unruly children. Plutarch (*de Pyth. Or.* 9) and Pausanias (10. 12. 1) refer to our Lamia, daughter of Poseidon, as mother of the earliest Sibyl, whose rocky seat may still be seen at Delphi.

[4] Pausanias (2. 1. 6) gives Helius a share in the founding of the Isthmian Games: others ascribe the foundation either to Poseidon alone or to Sisyphus or Glaucus or Theseus.

[5] Calaïs was a winged son of Oreithyia and Boreas. Like most of the heroes here mentioned, he took part in the Argonautic Expedition.

Πηλεύς, δίσκον Τελαμών, ἐνόπλιον Θησεύς. ἐτέθη
δὲ καὶ ἵππων ἀγών, καὶ ἐνίκα κέλητι μὲν Φαέθων,
15 τεθρίππῳ δὲ Νηλεύς. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ νεῶν ἅμιλλα,
καὶ Ἀργὼ ἐνίκα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔπλευσεν,
ἀλλὰ αὐτὴν ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Ἰάσων ἐνταῦθα τῷ Πο-
σειδῶνι, καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπέγραψεν, ὃ λέγουσιν
Ὀρφέως εἶναι·

Ἀργὼ τὸ σκάφος εἰμί, θεῷ δ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἰάσων,
Ἴσθμια καὶ Νεμέοις στεψάμενον πίτυσιν.

Ὅπου δὲ θεοὶ ἀγωνοθετοῦσιν, ἡμίθεοι δὲ νικῶσι
καὶ νικῶνται, ἀναπαύεται δὲ Ἀργώ, τίνα τούτου
τόπον καλλίω ἐξευρεῖν ἐδύνατο αὐτὸς ὁ Δαίδαλος
πτεροῖς πετόμενος, οὐχ ὅτι γε δὴ τὸ Δαιδάλου
16 ποίημα; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἀπέδρα οὔτε ἐπεχείρησεν οὐθ'
ὅλως ἐμέλλησε· καταλείπεται τοίνυν αὐτοὺς τοὺς
Κορινθίους ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὸν μήτε κρίσεως προτεθεί-
σης μήθ' ὅλως αἰτίαν ἔχοντας[1] ἐπενεγκεῖν. καὶ
τοῦτ' ἂν[2] ἐπείσθη τις κατὰ Κορινθίων ὧν οἱ πρό-
γονοι διὰ πάντων Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα δὴ δικαιοσύ-
νην ἐπήσκησαν; ἦ[3] γὰρ οὐχ οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὰς
τυραννίδας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καταλύοντες καὶ τὰς
δημοκρατίας καθιστάντες καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπὸ
τῶν τυράννων ἐλευθερώσαντες, πρότερον μὲν ἀπὸ
17 Ἱππίου, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπὸ Κλεομένους, καὶ μετὰ
ταῦτα ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι πρᾶγμα ποιεῖν ἐπ-

[1] ἔχοντας Morel : ἔχοντος. [2] τοῦτ' ἂν Crosby : τοῦτο.
[3] ἦ Emperius : ἤ M, ἢ UB.

[1] Doubtless composed by our author himself.

[2] Cf. § 9, where it is jokingly suggested that Daedalus made the statue which has so mysteriously disappeared.

Telamon, in the contest in armour Theseus. And there had been instituted also a contest for horses, and Phaëthon won with a courser, and Neleus with a team of four. And there was also a boatrace, in which Argo was the winner, and after that she sailed no more, but Jason dedicated her there to Poseidon, and he carved on her a couplet, which men say is the work of Orpheus :

> I am the good-ship Argo, to God by Jason devoted,
> Victor in Isthmian Games, crownèd with Nemean pine.[1]

But a place where gods control the games, and heroes are the victors and the vanquished, and Argo lies at rest—what lovelier place than this could Daedalus himself discover as he flew with wings—to say nothing, of course, of that statue made by Daedalus ?[2] Nay, that statue of mine neither ran away nor tried to do so nor had any such intention at all ; therefore we are left to conclude that the Corinthians themselves banished it, not only without holding any trial, but also without having any charge at all to bring against it. And would any one have believed this to the discredit of the Corinthians, whose forefathers were pre-eminent among the Greeks for cultivating justice ? For, I ask you, was it not they who put an end to the tyrannies in the cities and established the democracies and freed Athens from her tyrants—first from Hippias and later from Cleomenes[3]—and who after that, when Athenians themselves undertook to play the rôle of Hippias and

[3] Herodotus allows Corinth no part in the expulsion of either Hippias or Cleomenes, and Cleomenes was not a tyrant but a Spartan king who seized the Acropolis!

εχείρουν Ἱππίου καὶ Ἰσαγόρου καὶ τυραννίδα τῆς Ἑλλάδος καθίστασθαι, πρῶτοι μὲν αἰσθόμενοι, μάλιστα δὲ ἀλγήσαντες, ἡγεμόνες τοῖς ἄλλοις τῆς ἐλευθερίας καταστάντες, καὶ ταύτην τὴν διάνοιαν οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διαφυλάξαντες; καὶ γάρ[1] Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν δικαίων τῆς Ἑλλάδος μετὰ τῆς Θηβαίων καὶ Ἠλείων πόλεως ἀντέβησαν· ᾧ καὶ διέδειξαν οὐ φιλοκάλως ἔχοντες[2] ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς φιλέλληνες καὶ φιλοδίκαιοι καὶ φιλελεύθεροι
18 καὶ μισοπόνηροι καὶ μισοτύραννοι. μισοβάρβαροι μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἦσαν, ὥστε εἰς Θερμοπύλας τετρακοσίους σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλαν, ὅτεπερ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τριακοσίους.[3] ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ ἠρίστευσαν καὶ τῆς νίκης αἴτιοι κατέστησαν. Ἡροδότῳ γὰρ οὐ προσέχω, ἀλλὰ τῷ τάφῳ καὶ τῷ Σιμωνίδῃ, ὃς ἐπέγραψεν ἐπὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς τῶν Κορινθίων τεθαμμένοις ἐν Σαλαμῖνι·

ὦ ξένε, εὔυδρόν ποτ' ἐναίομεν ἄστυ Κορίνθου,
νῦν δ' ἀμὲ Αἴαντος[4] νᾶσος ἔχει Σαλαμίς.
ῥεῖα δὲ Φοινίσσας νῆας καὶ Πέρσας ἑλόντες
καὶ Μήδους ἱερὰν Ἑλλάδα ῥυσάμεθα.[5]

[1] γὰρ added by Arnim.
[2] φιλοκάλως ἔχοντες] φιλολάκωνες ὄντες Selden.
[3] τριακοσίους Cobet, relying on Herod. 7. 202: τετρακοσίους.
[4] δ' ἀμὲ Αἴαντος Valckenaer and Bergk: δὲ μετ' Αἴαντος MSS., δὲ ἀνάματος Plutarch.
[5] Ἑλλάδα ῥυσάμεθα Jacoby: Ἑλλάδ' ἱδρυσάμεθα, Ἑλλάδα ῥυόμεθα Plutarch.

Isagoras [1] and to set up a tyranny over Hellas, being the first to sense what was going on and being especially pained thereat, led the way to freedom for the others and maintained that purpose, not only in the case of the Athenians, but also in that of the Spartans? For example, in company with the states of Thebes and Elis they opposed the Spartans in defence of the common rights of Hellas [2]; and by this act they also showed that they were not mere lovers of honour, but rather lovers of Hellas, of justice, of freedom, and haters of villainy and tyranny. Yes, and they were such haters of barbarians that they dispatched to Thermopylae four hundred of their own troops on the same occasion on which the Spartans sent three hundred.[3] And at Salamis they won the prize for valour and became responsible for the victory. For I pay no heed to Herodotus [4] but rather to the funeral monument and to Simonides, who composed the following epitaph for the Corinthian dead who were buried in Salamis:

O stranger, once we dwelt in Corinth blest
With fountains; now the isle of Ajax holds
Our bones. With ease we took Phoenician ships,
Vanquished alike the Persians and the Medes,
And saved our sacred Hellas from the foe.[5]

[1] Isagoras yielded the Acropolis to Cleomenes. He was the chief opponent of Cleisthenes after the expulsion of Hippias.

[2] Corinth, Thebes, and Elis took common action for a brief moment after the Peace of Nicias, though presumably for selfish reasons.

[3] Cf. Herodotus 7. 202.

[4] Cf. § 7.

[5] Plutarch, *de Herod. malig.* 39 E, gives the epitaph but not the poet's name.

19 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον ἐπίγραμμα Σιμωνίδη εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐξαίρετον·

οὗτος Ἀδειμάντου κείνου τάφος, οὗ διὰ βουλὰς
Ἑλλὰς ἐλευθερίας ἀμφέθετο στέφανον.

ἠλευθέρωσαν δὲ καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ τὰς Συρακούσας δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων. ἦν δ' ἰδεῖν Διονύσιον ἐν Κορίνθῳ, θέαμα κάλλιστον, οὐδενὸς κύριον· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲ τοῦτον οὐδεὶς ἠδίκει οὐδὲ ἐξέβαλλεν οὐδ' ἀπήλαυνε[1] τῶν ἐκ Σικελίας.[2]

20 Τὸ δ' ἀνάθημα τῆς πόλεως τίς ἀνέτρεψεν; εἰ[3] μὲν οὖν στρόβιλος ἢ πρηστὴρ ἢ σκηπτὸς ἐμπεσών,[4] σείων καὶ κεραυνὸν ἰθύνων—εἰ δ' ἔστι τις κρίσις ἀνδριάντος, οἵαν φασὶν ἐν Συρακούσαις γενέσθαι —ὃν δὲ τρόπον οὐκ ὀκνήσω ἐπεμβαλόμενος διηγήσασθαι· Συρακοσίους τοὺς ἀποίκους τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἐν πολλοῖς πολέμοις πρὸς Καρχηδονίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους τοὺς τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατοικοῦντας ὁ χαλκὸς ἐπιλελοίπει
21 καὶ τὸ νόμισμα· ἐψηφίσαντο οὖν τοὺς τῶν τυράννων ἀνδριάντας—οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἦσαν παρ' αὐτοῖς χαλκοῦ πεποιημένοι—συγκόψαι κρίσιν γε ἐν αὐτοῖς ποιήσαντες, ὅστις ἄξιος αὐτῶν καταχωνευθῆναι

[1] ἀπήλαυνε Crosby : ἐξήλαυνε.
[2] τῶν ἐκ Σικελίας] Dindorf deletes.
[3] εἰ] οὐ Arnim.
[4] Arnim suspects a lacuna after ἐμπεσών.

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[1] Cited by Plutarch, *op. cit.* 39 F, but without naming the poet.

And Simonides also has another epitaph referring particularly to the commander himself:

> Here lies that Adeimantus by whose designs
> Greece bound about her brows fair freedom's crown.[1]

And what is more, the Corinthians also freed Sicily from the foreigner and Syracuse too from her tyrants.[2] And Dionysius was then to be seen in Corinth—a most glorious spectacle!—shorn of all his power; and yet no one wronged even him or tried to banish him or to deprive him of the wealth he brought with him from Sicily.[3]

But who overturned the statue dedicated by the city? Of course, if it was a whirlwind or a hurricane or a thunderbolt that struck it, causing it to totter and darting lightning at it!—But if it is a question of some trial of a statue, such as they say took place in Syracuse—but how it took place I shall not shrink from telling by way of parenthesis. The Syracusans, your colonists, in the course of their many wars against the Carthaginians and the other aliens who dwelt in Sicily and Italy, had run short of bronze and currency; so they voted that the statues of their tyrants—most of the statues in their city were made of bronze—should be broken up, that is, after the people had held a trial to determine which of the statues deserved to be melted down and which did

[2] Timoleon the Liberator in the years 344–338 B.C. twice defeated the Carthaginians and drove them into western Sicily. He also suppressed most of the Sicilian tyrannies.

[3] Plutarch, *Timoleon* 14, says Dionysius was allowed to take with him a small amount of money, and that he became an object of much interest to both the Corinthians and the Greeks in general.

καὶ ὅστις οὔ· καὶ περιγίγνεται τῇ δίκῃ, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσητε, Γέλων ὁ Δεινομένους. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες κατεκόπησαν, πλὴν ἄρα Διονυσίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τῶν τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ Διονύσου[1] περικειμένων.

22 Εἰ δὲ γένοιτο καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ψήφισμά τι τοιοῦτον, ἀνδριάντων εὐθύνας εἶναι, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ θέλετε καθάπερ ἐψηφισμένον γε τοῦτο καὶ ἀγῶνος ἐνεστηκότος, δότε μοι, δότε τοὺς λόγους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ[2] πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἷον ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ποιήσασθαι.

"Ανδρες δικασταί, ἅπαντά φασι δεῖν προσδοκᾶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ· οὗτος δ' ἐν τῷ βραχεῖ κινδυνεύει τεθῆναι μὲν ὡς ἄριστος Ἑλλήνων, ἐκ-
23 πεσεῖν δ' ὡς πονηρότατος. ὅτι μὲν οὖν καλῶς καὶ δικαίως καὶ συμφερόντως τῇ πόλει τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐστάθην,[3] πολλὰ ἔχων εἰπεῖν ἓν ὑμῖν βούλομαι διηγήσασθαι γενόμενον ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς Συρακούσαις. καὶ γὰρ οἰκεῖον τὸ παράδειγμα, καὶ δίκαιον ἴσως ἐστίν—ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι τιμῶσι τὴν μητρόπολιν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμᾶς τὰ τῆς ἀποικίας τῆς ὑμετέρας ἔργα καλῶς ἔχει[4] μιμεῖσθαι.

24 Ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους ἐκείνους χρόνους Λευκανόν τινα ἄνθρωπον, ὅτι πρεσβείαν τινὰ

[1] Διονύσου Casaubon : Διονυσίου.
[2] αὐτοῦ Crosby : αὑτοῦ.
[3] ἐστάθην] ἐστάθη Emperius.
[4] καλῶς ἔχει] ἃ καλῶς ἔχει Reiske, ἃ ἂν καλῶς ἔχῃ Wilamowitz.

not; and—for you must hear this too—Gelon[1] son of Deinomenes survived the trial. As for the others, they all were broken up, except of course the statue of Dionysius,[2] the elder of the pair portrayed wearing the attributes of Dionysus.

Then supposing some such decree were to be passed in Corinth too, prescribing that statues should be subjected to an accounting—or rather, if you please, supposing this to have been already decreed and a trial to have been instituted—permit me, pray permit me, to make my plea before you in my own behalf as if in court.

Gentlemen of the jury, it is said that anything may be expected in the course of time; but he who stands before you is in jeopardy of first being set up as the noblest among the Greeks and then being cast out as the worst, all in a brief span of time. Now then, to prove that I was set up fairly and justly and to the good of your city and of all the Greeks, I could speak at length, but there is one thing I do want to tell you which took place in that same Syracuse. For indeed the illustration is germane, and there may be justice in it too—just as the people of Syracuse honour their mother-city, so also it is well that you should follow the example of your colony.

Very well, in those early days, because a certain Lucanian spoke Doric in reporting some mission

[1] Tyrant of Syracuse 485–478 B.C. His statue's immunity from destruction was doubtless due to his being both the first and the mildest tyrant of that city.

[2] Dionysius the Elder ruled Syracuse from 405 to 367 B.C. Scipio is said to have classed him with Agathocles as typifying daring and sagacity. We are led to infer that both the elder and the younger Dionysius had statues so made as to suggest the god from whom their name was derived.

εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἀπήγγειλε δωριστί, ἡσθέντες αὐτοῦ τῇ φωνῇ τά τε ἄλλα ὑπὲρ ὧν ἧκεν οὐκ ἄπρακτον ἀπεπέμψαντο καὶ ταλάντῳ ἐδωρήσαντο καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ σώματος ἐστήσαντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολὺν ἔπαινον ἐκτήσαντο[1] παρὰ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ Δωριέων, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατοικούντων, ὡς εὖ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ φιλοκάλως ἀμειψάμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Δωρικοῦ, οὗ τὴν φωνὴν ἐπησκήκει ἄχρι τοῦ καὶ λέγειν δυνατὸς εἶναι.

25 Εἰ δέ τις οὐ Λευκανὸς ὤν, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαῖος, οὐδὲ τοῦ πλήθους, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἱπποτρόφων, οὐδὲ τὴν φωνὴν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν δίαιταν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐζηλωκώς, καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐγκρατῶς καὶ περιφανῶς, ὡς οὔτε τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ῥωμαίων οὔτε τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν Ἑλλήνων, εἰρήσεται γάρ, οὐδὲ εἷς· τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων τοὺς ἀρίστους ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐκεῖσε πρὸς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἀποκλίνοντας, τὸν δὲ[2] πρὸς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τούτων ἕνεκα καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ πάνθ' ἁπλῶς προϊέμενον, ἵν' αὐτῷ περιῇ ἓν ἀντὶ[3] πάντων Ἕλληνι δοκεῖν τε καὶ εἶναι—εἶτα τοῦτον οὐκ ἐχρῆν παρ'
26 ὑμῖν ἑστάναι χαλκοῦν; καὶ κατὰ πόλιν γε· παρ' ὑμῖν μέν, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖος ὢν ἀφηλληνίσθη, ὥσπερ

[1] καὶ . . . ἐκτήσαντο conjectured by Cobet. Casaubon noted the lacuna.
[2] After τὸν δὲ Arnim deletes προστάτην.
[3] ἓν ἀντὶ Valesius: ἐναντίον.

before the Assembly, those Syracusans were so pleased by his dialect that they not only sent him home successful in the general purposes of his mission but also presented him with a talent and set up a likeness of him,[1] and on that account the Syracusans won much commendation from the neighbouring cities and from the Dorians of that region, especially from those who dwelt in Italy,[2] who felt that they had requited the man in fine and elegant fashion in behalf of the Dorian race, whose dialect he had cultivated to the point of being actually eloquent in it.

Well, if some one who is not a Lucanian but a Roman,[3] not one of the masses but of the equestrian order, one who has affected, not merely the language, but also the thought and manners and dress of the Greeks, and that too with such mastery and manifest success as no one among either the Romans of earlier days or the Greeks of his own time, I must say, has achieved—for while the best of the Greeks over there[4] may be seen inclining toward Roman ways, he inclines toward the Greek and to that end is sacrificing both his property and his political standing and absolutely everything, aiming to achieve one thing at the cost of all else, namely, not only to seem Greek but to be Greek too—taking all this into consideration, ought he not to have a bronze statue here in Corinth? Yes, and in every city—in yours because, though Roman, he has become thoroughly

[1] The eastern shore of Lucania faced Doric Tarentum (mod. Taranto), so that the incident is not surprising. Syracuse of course was Doric.

[2] I.e., the people of Tarentum.

[3] I.e., the speaker. See Introduction.

[4] I.e., in Rome.

ἡ πατρὶς ἡ ὑμετέρα, παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις δέ, ὅτι ἀττικίζει τῇ φωνῇ, παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις δέ, ὅτι φιλογυμναστεῖ, παρὰ πᾶσι δέ, ὅτι φιλοσοφεῖ καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἤδη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπῆρε συμφιλοσοφεῖν[1] αὐτῷ, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων
27 ἐπεσπάσατο. ἐπ᾿ αὐτὸ[2] γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ δοκεῖ[3] ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν οἷον ἐξεπίτηδες κατεσκευάσθαι, Ἕλλησι μέν, ἵνα ἔχωσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος παράδειγμα ὡς οὐδὲν τὸ παιδευθῆναι τοῦ φῦναι πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν διαφέρει· Ῥωμαίοις δέ, ἵνα μηδ᾿ οἱ τὸ ἴδιον ἀξίωμα περιβεβλημένοι τὸ παιδεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἀξίωμα παρορῶσι· Κελτοῖς δέ, ἵνα μηδὲ τῶν βαρβάρων μηδεὶς ἀπογιγνώσκῃ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας, βλέπων εἰς τοῦτον.

Ἐστάθην[4] μὲν οὖν διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς προφάσεις, ἵνα μὴ πλείους λέγων δοκῶ προάγειν[5] ἐμαυτὸν εἰς
28 ἀπέχθειαν. ἔστι δ᾿ οὐχ ὅμοιον ὑπὲρ ἀναστάσεως εἰκόνος βουλεύεσθαι καὶ καθαιρέσεως. διὰ τί; ὅτι ἕκαστος τούτων τῶν παρ᾿ ὑμῖν ἀνακειμένων, εἴτε βελτίων εἴτε[6] χείρων ἐστίν, ἤδη τὰ τῆς ὁσίας[7] περίκειται, καὶ χρὴ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ προεστάναι ὡς ἀναθήματος. πολλὰ ἂν τις ἔχοι εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν Γοργίαν τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἑστάναι, καὶ ταῦτα μετέωρον καὶ χρυσοῦν. Γοργίαν

[1] συμφιλοσοφεῖν Capps, συμφιλοσοφῆσαι Geel: συμφιλοσοφήσειν. [2] ἐπ᾿ αὐτὸ Selden: ἐπέπαυτο.
[3] δοκεῖ Crosby: ἐδόκει. [4] ἐστάθην] ἐστάθη Arnim.
[5] προάγειν Emperius: προσάγειν.
[6] βελτίων εἴτε added by Dindorf; κρείττων εἴτε Casaubon; εἴτε βελτίων (after χείρων) Reiske.
[7] ὁσίας Selden: οὐσίας.

[1] Destroyed by Mummius in 146 B.C., Corinth was refounded by Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. as a Roman colony. In

hellenized, even as your own city has [1]; in Athens because he is Athenian in his speech; in Sparta because he is devoted to athletics; in all cities everywhere because he pursues the study of wisdom and already has not only roused many of the Greeks to follow that pursuit with him but also attracted even many of the barbarians. Indeed it seems that he has been equipped by the gods for this express purpose—for the Greeks, so that the natives of that land may have an example before them to show that culture is no whit inferior to birth with respect to renown; for Romans, so that not even those who are wrapped up in their own self-esteem may disregard culture with respect to real esteem; for Celts,[2] so that no one even of the barbarians may despair of attaining the culture of Greece when he looks upon this man.

Well then, it is for some such reasons as these that I have been erected—not to expose myself to opprobrium by naming more. But in truth planning for the erection of a statue is not like planning for its tearing down. Why? Because each one of these statues which have been erected by your city—be its subject better, be it worse—is at once invested with the attributes of sanctity, and the city should defend it as a votive offering. One might urge many reasons in support of the claim that Gorgias the sophist should not have a statue at Delphi, and what is more, a statue on a lofty base and made of gold.[3]

the century and a half that followed it seems to have been hellenized pretty thoroughly. The speaker is evidently playing upon the Greek sentiment of his hearers.

[2] By "Celts" the speaker may mean the people of Arelatê. See Introduction.

[3] This statue of the famous Sicilian orator is noted by many ancient writers, but no one else refers to the pedestal.

τί[1] λέγω; ὅπου γε καὶ Φρύνην τὴν Θεσπιακὴν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἐπὶ κίονος[2] κἀκείνην ὡς Γοργίαν.

29 Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐνστῆναι νόμιμον ἴσως καὶ πολιτικόν, τὸ δ' ὕστερον ἐλθόντας τῆς ἀναθέσεως ἀναλύειν πειρᾶσθαι τὰ δεδογμένα, Ἄπολλον, βαρύ· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἠνέσχετο τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ δέον ἐστάθησαν, τὸ σταθῆναι προλαβόντες δέον ἑστήκασιν, ἐξ οὗ προειλήφασιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τῶν εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν αἱρουμένων κἂν ἀνάξιος ᾖ τις[3] ἀρχῆς, τὸν γοῦν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον εἰς ὃν ᾑρέθη ἄρχων διατελεῖ, οὕτω δὴ[4] καὶ τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσι κύριον εἶναι δεῖ τὸν χρόνον, ἐφ' ὃν ἐστάθησαν· ἔστι δὲ
30 οὗτος πᾶς ὁ λοιπὸς χρόνος. ἢ τί διοίσετε τῶν τοὺς πηλίνους πλαττόντων; τί δὲ καλὸν ἕξετε λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαιτοῦντας ὑμᾶς τὸν λόγον τοῦ τὰς μὲν τιμὰς εἶναι παρ' ὑμῖν θνητάς, τὰς δὲ ἀτιμίας ἀθανάτους; εἰ τοίνυν οὐδὲν[5] αἰσχρὸν τοῦτό ἐστι, καίπερ ὂν δεινόν, ὡς[6] κομιδῇ τετυφωμένης πολιτείας ἀνδριάντες ἐπέτειοι, ὥσπερ οἱ καρποί. οὓς γὰρ οὐχ ἵν' εὐθὺς ἐκλείπωσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως πλεῖστον χρόνον παραμείνωσι, χαλκοῦς ἵστατε, τούτους ἀποφαίνετε καὶ τῶν κηρίνων μαλακωτέρους.

31 Ἢ νὴ Δί' ὅτι ὀφθῆναι πονηροὺς ὕστερον συνέβη;

[1] Γοργίαν τί with U] γοργίαν τι BM, γοργίαν M m. pr.
[2] ἐπὶ κίονος Jacobs : ἐπ' εἰκόνος BM, ἐπὶ εἰκόνος U.
[3] τις Reiske : τῆς. [4] δὴ Arnim : δὲ.
[5] οὐδὲν Emperius : οὐδὲ.
[6] ὡς] πῶς οὐ Reiske, οὐ Arnim, ὅμως Post.

[1] Phrynê was a famous hetaera of the 4th century B.C. Pausanias (10. 15. 1) attributes her statue at Delphi to Praxiteles, "one of her lovers."

[2] Amphictyonies were religious leagues for the protection of some cult centre. The oath by Apollo shows that the

Why do I name Gorgias, when you may see there even Phrynê of Thespiae, perched on a pillar like Gorgias ? [1]

However that may be, while it is possibly legitimate and within the right of citizens to object at the outset, later on to go and try to cancel the resolution authorizing the erection of a statue is, by Apollo, a grievous wrong ; and none of the Amphictyons would have permitted it.[2] For indeed if statues were erected wrongfully, once they have gained the advantage of having been erected they hold their position rightfully from the moment they gained that advantage. For just as with the officials who are elected for a year, even if one of them is unworthy of holding office, he continues in office at least for the year for which he was elected, so also with statues that term should be valid for which they were erected ; and this term is all time to come. Otherwise how will you differ from the men who fashion their images of clay ? And what fine answer will you have to offer those who demand of you the reason why the honours in your city are mortal but the dishonours immortal ? If, then, this practice is in no wise disgraceful—as it certainly is shocking—what an absolutely crazy government it is whose statues are annuals, like their crops ! For men whom you honour with statues of bronze, not to have them desert you immediately, but to have them remain with you as long as possible, you show to be of softer stuff than even the images of wax.

Or, by Heaven, will the excuse be that men thus honoured were later on, as it happened, seen to be

speaker has in mind the Delphic Amphictyony ; he is still thinking of Gorgias and Phrynê.

εἰ μὲν ὕστερον γεγόνασιν, οὐκ ἀφίησι τὴν πόλιν τῆς αἰτίας· οὐ γὰρ τῶν μελλόντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν παρῳχηκότων ὑμεῖς δίδοτε τὰς τιμάς. εἰ δὲ πρότερον ὢν τοιοῦτος ὕστερον κατωπτεύθη, ποτέρως ἂν οἴεσθε μᾶλλον παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκιμῆσαι[1], καὶ ποτέρως ἂν τοὺς εὖ βουλομένους[2] ὑμᾶς ποιεῖν προκαλέσασθαι, τὴν κρίσιν ἀνάδαστον[3] ποιήσαντες ἢ τοῖς ἅπαξ δεδογμένοις ἐμμείναντες; ἐγὼ μὲν οὕτως ἡγοῦμαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἠτυχηκότων, τὸ δὲ βεβαίων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων.

32 Οὔπω λέγω τὸ μέγιστον, ὅτι οὐκ[4] ἐκ διαβολῆς, ἀλλ' ἐκ καταδίκης, μηδ' ἐκ τῆς τυχούσης αἰτίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς μεγίστης δεῖ τὴν τηλικαύτην, ἂν ἄρα δέῃ,[5] τιμὴν ἀνατραπῆναι. διαβολῆς μὲν γὰρ ἕνεκα κἂν[6] Σωκράτης εἴη τῶν νέων διαφθορεὺς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις νομιζομένων ἀνατροπεύς, ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀρχόμενος. τίνας γὰρ οὗτοι οὐ διαβεβλήκασιν οἱ πάντα διαβάλλοντες; οὐ Σωκράτην; οὐ Πυθαγόραν; οὐ Πλάτωνα; οὐκ αὐτὸν τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶ καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ
33 τοὺς ἄλλους θεούς; ἅπτονται δὲ καὶ τῶν θη-

[1] εὐδοκιμῆσαι Emperius : εὐδοκιμήσειν.
[2] βουλομένους Selden : βουλευομένους.
[3] ἀνάδαστον] ἂν δ' αὐτὸν M, ἀνάδικον Wilamowitz.
[4] οὐκ Wilamowitz : οὐδ'.
[5] ἂν ἄρα δέῃ Emperius : ἂν ἄρα δεῖ M, ἀνάδαστον UB.
[6] κἂν Dindorf : καί.

rogues? If they have turned rogues subsequently, that does not free the city of its guilt; for it is not because of what is to be but rather because of what has been that you confer your honours. If, on the other hand, a man who previously was a scoundrel was only subsequently discovered to be so, by which course of action do you suppose you would be more likely to win esteem among the Greeks, and by which course would you more effectively appeal to those who wish to do you favours—by undoing your decision, or by abiding by what has been decided once for all? As for myself, I believe it is by the second course of action. For the one course is that of men who have missed their aim, the other that of men of steady purpose.

I have not yet mentioned the most important consideration, which is that so signal an honour should be upset, if at all, not in consequence of slander, but by due process of law; and not for some casual fault, but only for the greatest. For so far as slander is concerned, even Socrates might be a corrupter of youth and a subverter of all the cherished beliefs of men, beginning with the gods. For whom have these men failed to slander who slander any one at all? Have they not slandered Socrates, Pythagoras,[1] Plato?[2] Have they not slandered Zeus himself, Poseidon, Apollo, and all the other gods?[3] And they lay impious hands even upon the female deities,

[1] Pythagoras was ridiculed for certain peculiar beliefs and practices, but apparently not on the score of morals.

[2] Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae Philos.* 3. 26-33, assembles various jokes and gibes at the expense of Plato.

[3] Greek mythology naturally afforded abundant material for the irreverent treatment of many of the gods. Scandalous tales were most common in connexion with Zeus.

λειῶν θεῶν, ὧν εἰκὸς ἦν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἀρρένων ἐντρέπεσθαι. νὴ Δί',[1] ἀκούετε γὰρ ἃ λέγουσι τὴν Δήμητρα καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὴν Ἕω· ἀπέχονται δ' οὐδὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οὐδὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος· ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἀπογυμνοῦσι τῷ Ἀκταίωνι, τὴν δὲ[2] καὶ συνάγουσι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ καὶ ποιοῦσι τὴν παρθένον μικροῦ μητέρα. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐπιστάμενοι θαυμάζετε, εἰ καὶ κατὰ τούτου[3] τις ψόγος διεδόθη, ὃν ἐκφυγεῖν μὲν οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων ὑπῆρξε τῶν ἐν δόξῃ βεβιωκότων, τὴν δὲ ἀφορμὴν ἔλαβεν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τοὺς λόγους εἴτ' ἐπαφροδισίαν αὐτὴν εἴθ' ὅ τι δήποτε χρὴ καλεῖν τοῦτο ὃ καὶ ὑμεῖς σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀπεδέξασθε;

34 Οὐ σκέψεσθε; οὐκ ἀναμνησθήσεσθε πρὸς ἑαυτούς, εἴ τι τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ παρ' ὑμῖν πέπρακται; καίτοι πόλιν οἰκεῖτε τῶν οὐσῶν τε καὶ γεγενημένων ἐπαφροδιτοτάτην, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲν ἠκούσατε, θαρρῶν δ' ἂν εἴποιμι ὅτι μηδὲ ἄλλος τις Ἑλλήνων. εἶτα τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν πλείονι ἀδείᾳ καὶ συγγνώμῃ κοσμίως βεβιωκότα, τοῦτον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ τοὺς

[1] νὴ Δία Emperius : νῦν.
[2] τὴν δὲ added by Selden.
[3] τούτου Reiske : τοῦτο.

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[1] With the notable exception of Aphroditê, the Greeks do seem in general to have dealt more kindly with their goddesses than with their gods.

[2] Save for the obscure amour with Poseidon reported by Pausanias (8. 25. 4), and that with Iasion (Hom. *Od.* 125-128), Demeter's reputation seems to have been spared.

[3] Aphroditê was fair sport for the Greeks from Homer on.

[4] Presumably a reference to her affair with Tithonus, first recorded in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphroditê* 218-238.

for whom they might be expected to feel even more reverence than for the male.[1] Aye, by Heaven, for you hear what they say of Demeter[2] and Aphroditê[3] and Eos[4]; and they do not keep their hands off even Athena or Artemis; on the contrary, they strip Artemis[5] naked for Actaeon, and they unite Athena with Hephaestus and almost make a mother of the Virgin.[6] Therefore, knowing all this as you do, are you surprised if there has been spread abroad against this man too some censure,[7] a thing which absolutely none of those who have lived distinguished lives has had the power to escape, but which in his case is based upon the charm of his eloquence, or whatever one should call that gift to which you yourselves, along with women and children, give approval?

Will you not consider the matter? Will you not test your memory to see whether any such thing has been done by him in Corinth? Although you live in a city favoured by Aphroditê[8] beyond all that are or ever have been, nevertheless you have heard nothing of the sort regarding him, and, I venture to assert, no other Greek has either. Then do you believe that the man who has lived a decent life in Greece, in the midst of greater licence and indulgence, has suffered transformation in Rome, in the

[5] Actaeon encountered her at the bath and was torn to pieces by his own hounds. Cf. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3. 30-31.

[6] Cf. Apollodorus, *op. cit.* 3. 188-190.

[7] For the charge of immorality in question, see Introduction.

[8] It seems highly probable that the speaker is punning on the word ἐπαφροδιτοτάτην, the cult of Aphroditê at Corinth being notorious. Though possibly in bad taste, the pun would be understandable in connexion with the charge against him.

νόμους ἡγεῖσθε μεταβεβλῆσθαι; ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε παραπλήσιόν ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις τὸν ἀθλητὴν φαίη καθ' αὑτὸν[1] μὲν εὐτακτεῖν, ἐν δὲ τῷ σταδίῳ καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην πλημμελεῖν.

35 Παρρησίαν δὲ ἄγω διπλῆν, ἑνὸς μὲν τοῦ συνειδότος, ἑτέρου δὲ τοῦ ἀγωνοθέτου. πεπιστευκότος μὲν πᾶσαν[2] τιμωρίαν παρὰ τοῦ ἡμαρτηκότος λαβεῖν, ἀκούσαντος δὲ μηνῦσαι[3]· ὅπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐποίησεν. ὑμεῖς δ' ἐπακολουθήσαντες ἀνθρώποις —οὐδὲν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐρῶ ὡς ἀμυνόμενος· πλὴν ὅτι δικαιότερον ἦν ἐκείνους ὑμῖν ἀκολουθεῖν ἢ ὑμᾶς
36 ἐκείνοις. ὑμεῖς γάρ ἐστε νῦν τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον πρῷρα καὶ πρύμνα τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὄλβιοι μὲν καὶ ἀφνειοὶ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ τῶν θεῶν ὀνομαζόμενοι, ὅτε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τισὶν ὑπῆρχε καὶ πλουτεῖν καὶ δύνασθαι· νῦν δ' ἀφ' οὗ προλέλοιπεν ὁ πλοῦτος Ὀρχομενόν τε καὶ Δελφοὺς ἐλέῳ μὲν ὑμῶν δύνανται διαφέρειν, ζήλῳ δὲ οὐδὲ εἷς.

37 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, ἣν οὐ δεῖ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν αἰσχύνην ὀφλεῖν, ὅταν τὸν ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐκπεπτωκότα πάντες ἄσμενοι καταδέχωνται οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καλῶσι καὶ διαπρεσβεύωνται καὶ τιμαῖς ταῖς τε ἄλλαις γεραίρωσι καὶ δὴ καὶ τῇ

[1] καθ' αὑτὸν Emperius : κατ' αὐτὸν.
[2] πᾶσαν] γὰρ ἦν Wilamowitz.
[3] μηνῦσαι] μηνῖσαι Arnim.

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[1] No doubt a figurative allusion to Hadrian. See Introduction.
[2] The unknown informer against Favorinus.
[3] He seems to say that Corinth is aping Athens in its treatment of the statue. See Introduction.

presence of the Emperor himself and the laws? Why, that is very much as if one were to say of the athlete that, though privately he keeps the rules, in the stadium and in the presence of the Master of the Games he violates the code!

However, I hold freedom of speech to be a two-sided matter—one side is that of the man who has knowledge of some misdeed, the other is that of the Master of the Games.[1] If the latter has given credence to an accusation he will exact full satisfaction from the wrongdoer, but a man who has heard a report of it will turn informer, which is precisely what the man in question [2] did. But when you followed the lead of persons who [3]—however, I shall say nothing of them by way of retaliation, save only that it would have been more proper for them to follow your lead than for you to follow theirs. For you are now, as the saying goes, both prow and stern of Hellas, having been called prosperous and wealthy and the like by poets and gods from olden days, days when some of the others too had wealth and might; but now, since wealth has deserted both Orchomenos and Delphi,[4] though they may surpass you in exciting pity, none can do so in exciting envy.

Now these remarks have been offered in the interest of the city, which must not suffer disgrace in the eyes of the Greeks, seeing that all men not merely welcome with delight him whom you have banished, but even send for him and dispatch him on missions here and there and, among other things,

[4] Both were synonymous with wealth in the time of Homer (*Iliad* 9. 379-382 and 404-405). Pausanias says (8. 33. 2) that Orchomenos had become in his day "less opulent than a private man of modest means." Despite repeated pillaging, Delphi had hardly fallen so low.

τῶν εἰκόνων ἀναθέσει. ὑπὲρ δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰκόνος νῦν ἐρῶ λόγον, ὃν εἶπεν Ἀναξαγόρας υἱὸν ἀποβεβληκώς, Ἤιδειν θνητὸν γεγεννηκώς. ἀλλ' οὐκ[1] ᾔδειν ὅτι τοιοῦτον· τῶν γὰρ[2] ἀνδριάντων ἕκαστος ἀνατίθεται μὲν ὡς αἰώνιος ἐσόμενος, φθείρεται δὲ ἄλλος κατ' ἄλλην εἱμαρμένην, κοινοτάτην μὲν καὶ δικαιοτάτην καὶ πᾶσι πράγμασι
38 προκειμένην τὴν τοῦ χρόνου· ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς ἄλλως ἐκόμπαζεν ὁ τοῦτο τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ποιήσας, ὅ φασιν ἐπὶ τῷ Μίδα σήματι γεγράφθαι·

> χαλκῆ παρθένος εἰμί. Μίδα δ' ἐπὶ σήματι κεῖμαι.
> ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε ῥέῃ καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλῃ,
> αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένουσα πολυκλαύτῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ
> ἀγγελέω παριοῦσι Μίδας ὅτι τῇδε τέθαπται.

39 ἀλλ', ὦ παρθένε αὐτάγγελε, τοῦ μὲν ποιητοῦ ἀκούομεν, σὲ δὲ ζητοῦντες οὐχ εὕρομεν οὐδὲ τὸ σῆμα τὸ Μίδου. ὕδατα δὲ ἐκεῖνα καὶ δένδρα ἔτι μὲν νάει τε καὶ θάλλει, χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔοικεν ἐπιλείψειν, ὡς Μίδας, ὡς παρθένος.

> ἀνδρὶ μὲν Ἱππαίμων ὄνομ' ἦν, ἵππῳ δὲ Πόδαργος,
> καὶ κυνὶ Λήθαργος καὶ θεράποντι Βάβης.

τίς οὖν[3] οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων οὐχ ὅτι τὸν ἵππον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἱππαίμονα; δοκῶ μὲν[4] οὐδὲ Μαγνήτων, ὅθεν ἦν Ἱππαίμων. οὗτος μὲν οὖν φροῦδος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτῷ Βάβητι καὶ Ποδάργῳ.

[1] οὐκ] οὖν Arnim.
[2] τοιοῦτον· τῶν γὰρ Jacobs: τοιούτων τῶν M, τούτων τῶν UB.
[3] After οὖν Arnim deletes οὐκ.
[4] δοκῶ μὲν Reiske: δοκοῦμεν.

show him honour by actually erecting statues of him. On the other hand, I shall now in my own behalf and in behalf of my statue use a phrase which Anaxagoras used when he had lost a son: "I knew I had begotten a mortal."[1] However, I did not know that my progeny was as mortal as that; for though each statue is erected as if it were to last for ever, still they perish by this fate or by that, the most common and most fitting fate and the one ordained for all things being the fate of time: and the poet was idly boasting who composed this epitaph, which they say has been inscribed on the funeral mound of Midas:

A maid of bronze am I. I mark the grave
Of Midas. While water flows and trees grow tall,
Here will I bide by the tear-drenched tomb and tell
The passers-by that Midas lieth here.[2]

Well, my self-announcing maiden, we hear indeed the poet's words, but, though we sought, we found not thee nor yet the tomb of Midas. And though those waters still flow and those trees still thrive, in time even they are likely to vanish with the rest, like Midas, like maiden.

Hippaemon the man was called, Podargus his horse,
Lethargus his hound, and Babês his serving-man.[3]

Well now, who of the Greek race knows, I won't say the horse, but Hippaemon himself? None, I fancy, even at Magnesia, whence Hippaemon came. He, then, has vanished from the sight of men, Babês, Podargus and all.

[1] Cf. Diogenes Laertius 2. 13.
[2] Quoted also by Plato, *Phaedrus* 264 D.
[3] Cf. *Anthol. Pal.* 7. 304.

40 Ἕτεροι δὲ ἑστᾶσι καὶ γιγνώσκονται, τὴν δὲ ἐπι-
γραφὴν ἔχουσιν ἑτέρων, καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενόν ἐστιν
οἷον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἀντίσπαστον,[1] καὶ τρόπον τινὰ
ἀντιδιδάσκουσιν οἱ ποιηταί· τρόπον μὲν Ἑλλήνων,[2]
τύχας δὲ Ῥωμαίων. ἐθεασάμην καὶ τὸν Ἀλκι-
βιάδην τὸν καλὸν τὸν Κλεινίου, οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπου,
πλὴν[3] ἐθεασάμην ἐν καλῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπιγραφὴν
ἔχοντα Χαλκοπώγωνος, ἕτερον δὲ περικεκομμένον
τὼ χεῖρε, ὃς ἐλέγετο τῆς Πολυκλέους τέχνης εἶναι·
ὅραμα δεινόν, ὦ Γῆ καὶ Ἥλιε, Ἀλκιβιάδης πε-
41 πηρωμένος. οἶδα δ᾽ ἐγὼ καὶ Ἁρμόδιον καὶ
Ἀριστογείτονα δουλεύσαντας ἐν Πέρσαις, καὶ Δη-
μητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πεντακοσίους ἀνδριάντας
καὶ χιλίους ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων μιᾷ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ
πάντας καθῃρημένους. ἐτόλμησαν δὲ καὶ Φιλίππου
τοῦ βασιλέως ἀμίδας κατασκεδάσαι. Ἀθηναῖοι
μὲν οὖν τῆς εἰκόνος οὖρον κατέχεον, ἐκεῖνος δὲ
τῆς πόλεως αἷμα καὶ τέφραν καὶ κονίαν. καὶ γὰρ

[1] After ἀντίσπαστον Arnim deletes τὸ μὲν ἐπίγραμμα ῥωμαΐζει (and the following καὶ), Valesius would retain and add ὁ δ᾽ ἀνδριὰς ἑλληνίζει.

[2] After Ἑλλήνων Arnim adds ἔχουσι.

[3] πλὴν Geel : πλησίον.

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[1] This vicious practice of altering labels forms the theme of Or. 31.

[2] The antispast, as the name implies, is a metrical foot which seems to tend in opposite directions (– ⏑ ⏑ –).

[3] I.e., "authors" respectively of statue and of dedicatory inscription. The word ποιητής, though usually applied to "makers" of verse, was applicable also to makers of other things as well.

However, the statues of other men still stand and are known, though they wear the label of others,[1] and what is going on is like an antispast [2] in poetry, and, as one might say, the authors [3] give counter information—Greek character, but Roman fortune. I have seen even Alcibiades, the handsome son of Cleinias—I know not where, but I saw him in a commanding site in Greece—wearing the label Chalcopogon,[4] and also another likeness of him with both arms lopped off, a likeness said to have been the work of Polycles [5]—ye gods, a fearsome spectacle, Alcibiades a cripple! And I know that Harmodius and Aristogeiton have served as slaves in Persia,[6] and that fifteen hundred statues of Demetrius of Phalerum have all been pulled down by the Athenians on one and the same day.[7] Aye, they have even dared to empty chamber-pots on King Philip.[8] Yes, the Athenians poured urine on his statue—but he poured on their city blood and ashes and dust.[9] In fact it was enough to arouse

[4] Chalcopogon is the Greek translation of Ahenobarbus (Bronzebeard), a name used by Nero in his earlier career. Some servile Greek may have rededicated to him the statue in question.

[5] Polycles was a sculptor of the second century B.C. It is noteworthy that Alcibiades should have served as subject for sculpture at that late date.

[6] The statues of the famous Tyrannicides were carried to Persia in 480 B.C.

[7] Both Diogenes Laertius and Pliny the Elder give 360 as the number erected. Diogenes says they were completed in fewer than 300 days. Only Pliny speaks of their destruction: *quas mox laceravere*.

[8] The incident seems apocryphal.

[9] A most surprising statement, for, contrary to the prediction of Demosthenes, Philip proved notably indulgent toward Athens.

ἦν νεμεσητὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα νῦν μὲν ἐν θεοῖς λέγειν, νῦν δ' οὐδ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις.

42 Εἶτα ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν φείδονται, ἀνδριάντος ὑμᾶς[1] φροντίσαι δοκῶ; καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους σιγήσειν μοι δοκῶ, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἴσθμιον, τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην τὸν ὑμέτερον, Μόμμιος ἐκ βάθρων ἀνασπάσας ἀνέθηκε τῷ Διί, φεῦ τῆς ἀμαθίας, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς ἀνάθημα, ἄνθρωπος ἀπαίδευτος καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν καλῶν[2] πεπειραμένος. ὃς Φίλιππον μὲν τὸν Ἀμύντου, ὃν ἐκ Θεσπιῶν ἔλαβεν, ἐπέγραψε Δία καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Φενεοῦ νεανίσκους τὸν μὲν Νέστορα, τὸν δὲ Πρίαμον. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο,[3] αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους[4] ὁρᾶν ᾤοντο, ὁρῶν Ἀρκάδας ἐκ Φενεοῦ.

43 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔξεστι καὶ γελᾶν. σπουδῇ δέ μοι ἐπελήλυθεν Ἀγησίλαον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τῆς γνώμης μακαρίσαι, ὅστις οὔποτε ἠξίωσεν οὔτε πλαστὰν οὔτε μιμηλὰν[5] τοῦ σώματος ποιήσασθαι, οὐχ ὅτι χωλὸς ἦν, ὥς φασι, καὶ μικρός (τί γὰρ ἐκώλυε μέγαν εἶναι τὸν ἀνδριάντα; τί γὰρ ἀρτίπουν, ὥσπερ τὸν Εὐφράνορος Ἥφαιστον;) ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος εἶδεν ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι μὴ δεῖ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας τύχας ἐκτείνειν μηδὲ

[1] ὑμᾶς Reiske : ὑμῖν. [2] καλῶν Reiske : κακῶν.
[3] τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο deleted by Arnim.
[4] αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους Arnim : τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνου.
[5] πλαστὰν οὔτε μιμηλὰν Emperius : πλαστὸν οὔτε μιμήλαν.

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[1] I.e., Poseidon. Mummius made Poseidon a votive offering to Zeus.

[2] Velleius (1. 13. 4) recounts that Mummius ordered that works of art lost en route to Rome must be replaced !

righteous indignation that they should class the same man now among the gods and now not even among human beings.

Then, knowing as I do that men spare not even the gods, should I imagine you to have been concerned for the statue of a mere mortal? Furthermore, while I think I shall say nothing of the others, at any rate the Isthmian,[1] your own Master of the Games, Mummius tore from his base and dedicated to Zeus—disgusting ignorance!—illiterate creature that he was, totally unfamiliar with the proprieties,[2] treating the brother as a votive offering! It was he who took the Philip son of Amyntas, which he got from Thespiae, and labelled it Zeus, and also the lads from Pheneüs[3] he labelled Nestor and Priam respectively! But the Roman mob, as might have been expected, imagined they were beholding those very heroes, and not mere Arcadians from Pheneüs.

Indeed you may well laugh at these doings; but in all seriousness, it has occurred to me to congratulate Agesilaüs, king of Sparta, on the stand he took, for he never thought it fitting to have either a statue or a portrait made of himself, not because he was deformed, as people say, and short[4]—for what was to hinder the statue's being tall, or having shapely legs, like Euphranor's Hephaestus?[5]—but rather because he saw clearly that one should not try to prolong the allotted span of human life or expose the

[3] Pheneüs was a city in Arcadia. Nothing is known of the statues in question.

[4] On his physical appearance, see Plutarch, *Agesilaüs* 2.

[5] Euphranor was a Corinthian sculptor of the fourth century, famous for the grace of his statues. Hephaestus, of course, was lame.

κινδυνεύειν περὶ τῷ σώματι κατὰ λίθον καὶ χαλκόν. εἴθε γὰρ εἴη[1] καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀπηλλάχθαι.
44 Χαιρέτω δ' ὁ Δαίδαλος καὶ τὰ Δαιδάλου μιμηλὰ τεχνήματα· ἅδην Προμηθέως, ἅδην πηλοῦ. καίτοι καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῶν γενναίων φασὶν ἀλλότριον εἶναι,

ἐπειὴ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ

σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς. ᾗ[2] μὲν γὰρ οὐ πάρεστιν[3] οὐδὲ φροντίζει τοῦ σώματος καμόντος.[4] ἐμαίνετο Καμβύσης ὡς[5] Ἄμασιν τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ κεντῶν τε καὶ μαστιγῶν. Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν γὰρ λέγουσιν Ἄμασιν ἐκ πλέονος ὑφορώμενον τὴν Καμβύσου χαλεπότητα τὸν μὲν αὑτοῦ[6] νεκρὸν ἀποκρύψαι, ἄλλον δ' ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ὑποβαλεῖν,
45 καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Καμβύσῃ περιπεσόντα. ἀλλ', ὦ Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Καμβύση, εἴτε ἄλλος τις ἦν ὁ ταῦτα παθὼν εἴτε αὐτὸς Ἄμασις ἦν, τύπος ἦν ἄναιμος, ἄσαρκος, ἄψυχος. τοῦτον, εἴ σοι φίλον, ἕλκε καὶ σπάραττε καὶ κέντρου, Ἄμασιν δὲ οὐ κατείληφας. ἕτερος δέ τις ζῶν, ἐμπνέων, αἰσθανόμενος, Πτίσσε, πτίσσ', ἔφη, τὸν Ἀναξάρχου θύλακον· Ἀνάξαρχον γὰρ οὐ πτίσσεις. οὗτος γὰρ ἁνὴρ[7]

[1] εἴη Reiske : εἶναι. [2] ᾗ Selden, ὃς Geel : ὁ.
[3] οὐ πάρεστιν Crosby, οὐκ ᾔσθετ' Selden, οὐκ αἰσθάνεται Reiske : οὐκ ἔστιν.
[4] καμόντος Crosby : κάμνοντος. [5] ὡς added by Selden.
[6] αὑτοῦ Emperius : αὐτοῦ. [7] ἁνὴρ Emperius : ἀνήρ.

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[1] Prometheus is said to have created the race of men out of clay. Cf. Pausanias 10. 4. 4 and Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1. 45.

[2] Spoken by Achilles of the distance between Troy and his home (*Iliad* 1. 156).

body to the vicissitudes of stone or bronze. Would that it might be possible to take leave even of the body which we have!

But farewell to Daedalus and to the imitative devices of that artist; enough of Prometheus, enough of clay.[1] In fact it is said that even the body of noble souls is foreign substance,

For very many things do lie between[2]

body and soul. For the soul is not present when the body is outworn nor is it concerned for it.[3] Cambyses was mad when, as if it were Amasis, the king of the Egyptians, he stabbed and flogged his dead body.[4] To be sure, the Egyptians say that Amasis, having long viewed with distrust the cruelty of Cambyses, caused his own body to be hid away and another to be substituted for it, and that this was the corpse which fell in the way of Cambyses. However, O ye Egyptians and Cambyses too, no matter whether it was some one else who suffered this treatment or Amasis himself, at all events it was a form sans blood, sans flesh, sans soul. This, so please you, you may drag, you may rend, you may stab, yet the real Amasis you have failed to catch. Again, another man who was endowed with life and breath and feeling exclaimed, "Grind, grind the sack of Anaxarchus; for the real Anaxarchus you do not grind!"[5] You see, this man,

[3] Post compares this utterance with the words of Socrates (*Phaedo* 115 E and *Axiochus* 365 E).

[4] This incident is recorded by Herodotus (3. 16).

[5] According to Diogenes Laertius (9. 58 ff.), Anaxarchus, a philosopher of Abdera (c. 350 B.C.), had offended Nicocreon the satrap of Cyprus, who had him thrown into the mortar to be ground to death.

ἐμπεσὼν μὲν εἰς ὅλμον, τυπτόμενος δὲ τοῖς ὑπέροις, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔφη πτίσσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ[1] ὅπερ ἔτυχε περικείμενος· ὥσπερ φασὶ Περσῶν τοὺς ὁμοτίμους λαμβάνειν πληγάς, ἀντὶ τοῦ σώματος τὸν κάνδυν.

46 Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ δυσφοροῦσιν· Ἕλλην δ᾽ ἀνὴρ παρεῖχε τύπτειν τὸ σῶμα ὡς κάνδυν[2]· ἡμεῖς δ᾽ οὐ παρέχωμεν[3] τὸν ἀνδριάντα χωνεύειν, κἂν αἰσθάνηται; νῦν δ᾽ ὁ μὲν κρείσσων αἰσθήσεως, ἐγὼ δὲ κατὰ τὴν[4] Εὐριπίδου Λαοδάμειαν

οὐκ ἂν προδοίην καίπερ ἄψυχον φίλον.

βούλομαι οὖν αὐτὸν ὡς αἰσθανόμενον παραμυθήσασθαι. ὦ λόγων ἐμῶν σιγηλὸν εἴδωλον, οὐ φαίνῃ; οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ πρὸ σοῦ Ἀριστέης· ὧδε γὰρ ἔσχε κἀκείνῳ, ὡς ἐμοὶ εἰκάσθη,[5] ἀναστῆναι μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Προκοννησίων, ἀφανισθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν· λόγον δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων διαδοθῆναι, ὡς οὔτε ζῶν οὔτε τεθνεὼς φαίνοιτο Ἀριστέης. ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ἔζη Ἀριστέης.

47 μνάσεσθαί[6] τινά φαμι καὶ ὕστερον[7] ἀμμέων.

[1] τῶν αὐτοῦ with M: τὸν αὐτοῦ B, τὸν αὐτοῦ U, τὸ αὐτοῦ Jacobs, τὸν ἀσκὸν Hemsterhuys, τὸν αὐτοῦ θύλακον Reiske.
[2] After κάνδυν Reiske deletes ὡς ἱμάτιον.
[3] παρέχωμεν Emperius: παρέχομεν.
[4] κατὰ τὴν Valesius: καὶ τήν.
[5] ὡς ἐμοὶ εἰκάσθη with M: ὅς ἐμοὶ εἰκάσθη UB, ὡς καὶ σοί, ὅς ἐμοὶ εἰκάσθης Reiske.
[6] μνάσεσθαί Casaubon: μνάσασθαι.
[7] ὕστερον Volger, ἄψερον Edmonds: ἕτερον.

[1] Apparently the peers were spared the indignity of being

having been thrown into a mortar and being pounded by the pestles, declared that he himself was not being ground, but only that thing of his in which, as it chanced, he had been enclosed—just as we are told that the peers of the realm in Persia are beaten —their cloak instead of their body.[1]

Well then, though Persians may resent so slight a chastisement, a Greek allowed his body to be pounded as if it were a cloak; and shall not I allow my statue to go to the melting-pot, even supposing it to have sensation? But as matters stand, while Anaxarchus was superior to sensation, I, in the language of Euripides' Laodameia,

> Would not desert a friend, though void of life.[2]

Accordingly I wish to speak words of comfort to my friend, my statue, as to one possessing sensation: O thou mute semblance of my eloquence, art thou not visible? No more was Aristeas visible, who lived before thee. For he too had this experience, as I conjecture, the experience of being raised up by the men of Proconnesus[3] and then being spirited away by his foes, and of having a tale disseminated by these same men to the effect that Aristeas was not to be seen, either living or dead.[4] However, Aristeas was alive then, lives now, and will live always.

> Some one, I ween, will yet remember me,[5]

stripped for flogging. The long-sleeved κάνδυς is here viewed as shielding the body from the pain.

[2] Spoken with reference to her husband. Cf. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 565.

[3] An island in the Propontis, birthplace of Aristeas.

[4] For the weird story of the repeated disappearance and reappearance of Aristeas, see Herodotus 4. 13-15.

[5] Cf. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*, I p. 236, L.C.L.

πάνυ γὰρ καλῶς εἶπεν ἡ Σαπφώ· καὶ πολὺ κάλλιον Ἡσίοδος·

φήμη δ' οὔτις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἥντινα λαοὶ
πολλοὶ φημίξωσι· θεός νύ τίς ἐστι καὶ αὐτή.

ἐγώ σε ἀναστήσω παρὰ τῇ θεῷ, ὅθεν οὐδείς σε μὴ καθέλῃ, οὐ σεισμός, οὐκ ἄνεμος, οὐ νιφετός, οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ φθόνος, οὐκ ἐχθρός, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν σε καταλαμβάνω ἑστηκότα. λάθα[1] μὲν γὰρ ἤδη τινὰς καὶ ἑτέρους ἔσφηλε καὶ ἐψεύσατο, γνώμη δ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐδένα, ᾗ[2] κατ' ἄνδρα μοι ὀρθὸς ἕστηκας.

[1] λάθα with UB : λάθρα M, βάθρα Weil.
[2] ᾗ Casaubon : ἢ UB.

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[1] *Works and Days* 763-764.
[2] The goddess Fame?
[3] Seemingly an echo of the famous tribute paid by Herodotus (8. 98) to the Persian courier service: τοὺς οὔτε νιφετός,

as Sappho very beautifully says; and far more beautifully Hesiod:

> But fame is never utterly destroyed
> Which many people voice; a goddess she.[1]

I myself will raise thee up and place thee in the precinct of the goddess,[2] whence naught shall tear thee down—not earthquake or wind or snow or rain or jealousy or foe[3]; but lo! e'en now I find thee in thy station! Aye, ere now forgetfulness hath tripped and cheated sundry others too, but judgement plays no tricks on any man of worth,[4] and 'tis because of this that thou standest upright for me like a man.

οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νὺξ ἔργει μὴ οὐ κατανύσαι τὸν προκείμενον αὐτῷ δρόμον τὴν ταχίστην.

[4] Edmonds, *loc. cit.*, regards *λάθα μὲν . . . οὐδένα* as a paraphrase of lines from the same poem of Sappho, a theory to which the form *λάθα* lends some colour. See Introduction for a possible interpretation of this highly imaginative peroration.

THE THIRTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: TO THE NICOMEDIANS ON CONCORD WITH THE NICAEANS

This is the first in a series of speeches by Dio dealing with affairs in his native Bithynia, speeches which shed much light upon the troubles and problems referred to by Pliny the Younger in his correspondence while governor of that province. The administration of Bithynia was clearly no easy task. Besides the natural resentment of the provincial toward his Roman overlord, who in some instances seems to have been unworthy of the office, we learn of much social and economic distress and unrest, financial mismanagement, and civic bickerings. Still another source of trouble was the bitter rivalry between cities of the district such as forms the subject of the present Discourse.

Nicomedia and Nicaea were near neighbours. While Nicomedia profited from its nearness to the sea and was the "metropolis" of the district, Nicaea lay on an important trade route and seems to have outstripped its neighbour in material prosperity. Under the Empire it appears to have enjoyed the special favour of Rome. As early as 29 B.C. Augustus established there the cults of Roma and of Julius Caesar, and at the time of our Discourse Nicaea was honoured with the title πρώτη. This title it continued to hold despite the counterclaims of Nicomedia, and that it was no empty honour seems to be attested both by coins and inscriptions and by Dio's own words (§ 26), which seem to negative the disparaging reference immediately preceding. His efforts to establish concord between these rivals seem not to have had lasting success, for as late as the Council of Chalcedon

the bishops of these two cities presented counterclaims to the right of ordaining bishops in Bithynia.

Dio does not provide a clue as to the precise date of our Discourse, but both his choice of theme and the spirit in which he deals with it indicate with some clearness that it belongs to his philosophic period. With what appears to be false modesty, he professes not to know why he, a native of Prusa, some sixty miles distant, should have been honoured with citizenship in Nicomedia. Possibly it had been the first city of the province so to honour him. However that may be, in his address before the people of Apameia (Or. 41. 2) he states in no uncertain terms that such marks of distinction had become for him a common experience: "wherever I have been, not only cities in general, but even, I may say, most of those which are of standing equal to your own, have presented me with citizenship, with membership in the Council, and with their highest honours without my asking it, believing me to be not unserviceable to themselves or unworthy of being honoured." Although loyal to his birthplace and ambitious for its advancement, Dio's long exile had fostered in him wider sympathies, and he seems to have been sincerely concerned for the welfare of Bithynia at large. It was only to be expected that the cities of the province should welcome the opportunity to enlist in their support a man with such an outlook, to profit by his wisdom, and to shine by his reflected glory.

38. ΠΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΕΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΑΕΙΣ

1 Ὅταν ἐκλογίσωμαι τὰς αἰτίας, ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς, δι᾿ ἃς ἐποιήσασθέ με πολίτην· οὐ γὰρ πλοῦτον ὄντα ὁρῶ μοι μέγαν, ὥστε νομίζειν ὅτι διὰ χρήματα ἐσπουδάσθην ὑφ᾿ ὑμῶν· οὔτε πρὸς τὸ θεραπεύειν τοὺς ὄχλους ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντι ἐμαυτῷ σύνοιδα· οὔκουν οὐδὲ εἰς τοῦτό μου χρῄζειν δοκεῖτε, τὸ ταῖς ὁρμαῖς ὑμῶν ἁπάσαις ὑπηρετεῖν ἑτοίμως ἐμέ· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ συμποτικός εἰμί τις οὐδὲ κοινὸς ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις συνουσίαις, ὥστε ἀπό γε τούτου παρέχειν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἡδονήν· εἰ δὲ μὴ διαμαρτάνω μήτε τῆς ὑμετέρας περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως, ὅσα τε ὑμῖν δύναμαι χρήσιμος εἶναι, ταῦτα ἐπίσταμαι, τὸ λοιπόν ἐστιν, δι᾿ ὃ πολίτης ἐγὼ γεγένημαι παρ᾿ ὑμῖν,[1] οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τὸ συμβουλεύειν ἐμέ τι περὶ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων ἴσως μᾶλλον ἑτέρων καὶ βούλεσθαι καὶ δύνα-
2 σθαι. τοῦτο δὲ εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι τοιοῦτον, ὑμεῖς τε τῆς περὶ ἐμὲ σπουδῆς διημάρτετε ἐγώ τε ἔοικα μάτην ὑπακούσας ὑμῖν ἐπ᾿ ἐλπίδι τοῦ γενήσεσθαι

[1] After ὑμῖν Selden deletes σπουδῆς.

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[1] "I am at a loss" has been supplied by the translator in lieu of what presumably was an eloquent gesture on the part of the speaker.

THE THIRTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: TO THE NICOMEDIANS ON CONCORD WITH THE NICAEANS

Men of Nicomedia, when I undertake to compute the reasons why you gave me citizenship, I am at a loss [1]; for I do not see that I have great wealth such as to warrant my believing that I have been sought after by you for mercenary reasons,[2] nor am I conscious of having an aptitude for flattering the masses; so you do not seem to want me even for the purpose of readily serving your every whim. No, the fact is that I am not even good company at a banquet or a sociable person at gatherings of that sort, so as to be able at least to afford pleasure for the populace from that quality. However, if I do not wholly mistake your purpose regarding me, and also if I am cognizant of all the matters in which I am capable of serving you, the only thing left to account for my having been made a citizen by you is naught else than that, perhaps to a greater degree than others, I have both the desire and the ability to give advice on the interests of the commonwealth. However, if such is not the case, then not only have you been misguided in your interest in me but I too, it would appear, was rash in heeding your call in the hope of proving useful to your city in the

[2] Cf. § 2.

τῇ πόλει χρήσιμος, οὐ ποιουμένων μου χρείαν ὑμῶν εἰς ἣν μόνον ἐπιτήδειός εἰμι. εἰ δὲ πάσαις μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι, μᾶλλον δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις, δεῖ μὲν καὶ τῶν πλουσίων, ἵνα καὶ χορηγῶσι καὶ φιλοτιμῶνται ταυτὶ τὰ νενομισμένα δαπανήματα, δεῖ δὲ καὶ κολάκων ἀνδρῶν, ἵνα δημαγωγοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἥδωνται· δεῖ δὲ καὶ συμβούλων, ἵνα σῴζωνται ταῖς πολιτείαις, κἀγὼ καθ' ὅσον μοι δυνατὸν οὐκ ὀκνήσω περὶ τῶν μεγίστων συμβουλεύων ὠφελεῖν τὴν πόλιν.

3 Ἔστι μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐπανορθώσεως ἄξια καὶ κατὰ μέρος αὐτῶν ποιήσομαι τὴν θεραπείαν, ἂν τἀληθῆ λέγων πιστευθῶ περὶ τῶν μειζόνων. τί δὲ παθὼν ἢ τί βουλόμενος οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν μικροτέρων συμβουλεύω πρότερον, οὐδὲ ἐν ἐκείνοις ἀποπειρῶμαι τοῦ δήμου τῆς εὐπειθείας, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀξιῶ κινδυνεύειν περὶ τοῦ μεγίστου συμβουλεύων πράγματος; ὅτι πολλῷ μοι δοκεῖ ῥᾷον εἶναι πεῖσαι περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἢ τῶν μικροτέρων καὶ φαύλων. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἔξεστι[1] καὶ καταφρονῆσαι τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν γιγνομένης βλάβης, ὁ δὲ χωρὶς ὧν ἀμήχανόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ σῴζεσθαι, περὶ τούτων οὐκ ἐθελήσας πεισθῆναι δῆλός ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τῶν μικροτέρων οὐδὲ ἀκουσόμενος.

4 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν, ἐὰν ὑπομείνητε τὴν συμβουλίαν, πεισθήσεσθέ μοι περὶ ὧν συμβουλεύων πάρειμι, καὶ δὴ σφόδρα θαρρῶ. τί δαί; δύσκολον τοῦτ' ἔστι,

[1] ἔξεστι] ἔξεστιν ἀμελεῖν Arnim.

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[1] Cf. Or. 34. 1.

future, since you are not making that use of me for which alone I am adapted. If, on the other hand, all cities, or rather the great cities, need not only the men of wealth, both to finance the public spectacles and liberally to provide such customary expenses, and flatterers to afford pleasure by their demagogic clap-trap, but also counsellors to provide safety by their policies,[1] I myself shall not shrink from aiding the city to the best of my ability by giving advice on matters of greatest importance.

Well now, there are indeed some other things in your city which deserve correction, and one after the other I shall apply my treatment to them, provided I win your confidence by speaking the truth about the greater matters. But for what strange reason or with what purpose do I not first give advice about the smaller matters and in those matters test the willingness of the people to be persuaded, instead of choosing to jeopardize my reputation at the start by offering advice on the weightiest matter of all? It is because it seems to me far easier to persuade men concerning the weightiest matters than concerning those which are slighter or trivial. For while one may actually scorn the harm resulting from these minor matters, a man who, when it is a question of policies apart from which it is impossible for him to be saved, has refused to be persuaded regarding these things is clearly a man who will not even listen concerning the minor matters.

So then, if you will endure my advice with patience, I am indeed very confident you will be persuaded by me in the matters about which I am here to advise you. What then? It is a hard task to get you to

τὸ μήτε φορτικὴν ὑμᾶς ἡγήσασθαι τὴν ἀκρόασιν τὴν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος μήτε περιττὴν μήτε ἄκαιρον. ἵνα οὖν μοι μὴ ταῦτα προαπαντήσῃ παρ' ὑμῶν, Τί δὲ συμβουλεύεις σὺ περὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ βουλευόμεθα; Τί δὲ σεαυτῷ λόγου μεταδίδως, οὗ σοὶ μὴ μετέδομεν ἡμεῖς; Διὰ τί δὲ τοσούτων πεπολιτευμένων παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων, εἰσποιητῶν,[1] ῥητόρων, φιλοσόφων, γερόντων, νέων, οὐδέποτε οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν ἡμῖν
5 συμβουλεῦσαι ταύτην τὴν συμβουλίαν; αἴτημα θέλω ποιήσασθαι τοῦτο αὐτὸ παρ' ὑμῶν, ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς, καὶ χαρίσασθέ μοι καὶ ὑπομείνατε, ἀκοῦσαι λόγου περιττοῦ καὶ ἀκαίρου καὶ μὴ πείσοντος ὑμᾶς. καὶ οὐδὲ μεγάλην εἶναι νομίζω τὴν δωρεάν· εἴτε γὰρ πεισθήσεσθε, ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ τὰ λυσιτελῆ λέγοντος· εἴτε ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἀπόκειται τὸ πεισθῆναι, τί τοῦτο δύσκολόν ἐστιν, ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ λόγου μεταδοῦναι βουλομένῳ[2] μάτην εἰπεῖν;

Καὶ τί δὴ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὑπὲρ οὗ μέλλω μὲν συμβουλεύειν, ὀνομάσαι δὲ αὐτὸ ὀκνῶ; τὸ μὲν ὄνομα οὐκ ἀηδές, ὦ ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς, οὔτε ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις οὔτε ἐν ταῖς συγγενείαις οὔτε ἐν ταῖς φιλίαις οὔτε ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὔτε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.
6 ὑπὲρ γὰρ ὁμονοίας ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι, καλοῦ μὲν ὀνόματος, καλοῦ δὲ πράγματος· ἂν δ' εὐθὺς προσθῶ περὶ τῆς πρὸς τίνας ὁμονοίας, τοῦτο δέδοικα, μὴ τὴν μὲν ὁμόνοιαν αὐτὴν ἀφ'[3] ἑαυτῆς καλὴν εἶναι

[1] εἰσποιητῶν Geel: εἰς ποιητῶν M, ποιητῶν UB.
[2] After βουλομένῳ Weil adds καί.
[3] ἀφ'] ἐφ' Reiske.

[1] Dio makes an even more elaborate appeal for tolerance

view my remarks upon the subject which I have in mind as neither tiresome nor superfluous nor untimely. In order, therefore, that I may not at the outset encounter such objections on your part as: "But why do *you* offer advice in matters about which, to begin with, we are not even deliberating?" "But why do you accord yourself the privilege of the floor, when we have not bestowed it on you?" "But for what reason, when so many have been active in politics in our city, native-born and adopted, orators and philosophers, old and young, has no one ever presumed to give us this advice?"—to forestall all such objections, I wish to make this very special request of you, men of Nicomedia—and do me the favour of being patient—that you listen to a speech which is superfluous and untimely and which may not convince you. Moreover, I do not consider it a great favour I am asking either; for if you are persuaded by my words, it is worth your while to have listened to one who tells you what is to your advantage; while, on the other hand, if you reserve your acquiescence, what is there unpleasant in having allowed a friend to take the floor who is willing to speak to no avail?[1]

Very well, what is this subject on which I am about to offer advice, and yet am reluctant to name it? The word, men of Nicomedia, is not distasteful whether in the home or the clan or in friendly circles or cities or nations; for concord is what I am going to talk about, a fine word and a fine thing; but if I proceed to add forthwith concord with whom, I fear lest, while you may be convinced that concord

on the part of his audience in the exordium of Or. 32. Cf. also Or. 34. 1-6.

πιστεύσητε, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τούτους ὁμονοεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οἷς ὁμονοεῖν φημι δεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἀδύνατον εἶναι νομίσητε. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν, ὃ μέχρι νῦν εἰς τὴν ἔχθραν καθίστησιν ὑμᾶς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ γενέσθαι τὴν φιλίαν, τὸ πεπεῖσθαι δίχα λόγου μὴ δυνατὴν εἶναι ταῖς πόλεσι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν. μὴ θορυβήσητε δὲ ἀρχομένῳ πάλιν, ἀλλ' ὑπομείνατε.

7 Φημὶ δεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς, ὁμονοῆσαι πρὸς Νικαεῖς· ἀκούσατε δὲ καὶ μὴ χαλεπήνητε μηδέπω, πρὶν ἂν εἴπω τὰς αἰτίας. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ νοσῶν πρὸς τὸν ἰατρὸν ὀργίζεται διατάττοντα τὴν θεραπείαν, ἀλλ' ἀκούει μὲν ἀηδῶς αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, ὅτι αὐτὸν καὶ τμηθῆναι δεῖ καὶ καυθῆναι, πείθεται δὲ ὅμως· περὶ γὰρ σωτηρίας ὁ κίνδυνός ἐστι. καίτοι τί τοῦτο εἶπον; τὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν φάρμακον, ὃ προσφέρω ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἥδιστόν ἐστι φάρμακον[1] καὶ χωρὶς οὗ ζῆν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐθελήσειεν εὖ φρονῶν.

8 Βούλομαι δὲ διελεῖν τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς εἰπεῖν τῆς ὁμονοίας τῆς καθόλου, ποδαπόν τέ ἐστι καὶ τίνων αἴτιον, εἶτα[2] ἐξ ἐναντίας τὴν στάσιν καὶ τὴν ἔχθραν διακρῖναι[3] πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν. ἔσται γὰρ ἀκόλουθον τὸ[4] τῆς ὁμονοίας ἀποδειχθείσης ὠφελίμου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἅπασιν ἀποδεῖξαι ταύτην τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῶν πόλεων τούτων καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτην οὖσαν ὑμῖν καὶ λυσιτελεστάτην. οὐκ ἀποστήσομαι δὲ εἰπεῖν οὐδ' ὅπως[5] ἂν μεῖναι γενομένη δύναιτο· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ὁρῶ πολλοῖς ἐν-

[1] φάρμακον] φαρμάκων Herwerden.
[2] Arnim moves εἶτα to the beginning of the next clause.
[3] διακρῖναι Crosby : διακρίνας.
[4] τὸ] Arnim deletes.
[5] ὅπως Emperius : εἴ πως.

of and by itself is fine, you may believe that being concordant with those persons with whom I claim you should be concordant is impossible. For what till now has set you at your present enmity one toward another, and has prevented the establishment of friendship, is the unreasoning conviction that concord is impossible for your cities. Nay, don't raise an outcry when I make a fresh start but bear with me.

What I say, men of Nicomedia, is that you must achieve concord with the Nicaeans; but hear me out and don't get angry yet before I state my reasons. For neither is the sick man angry with his physician when he prescribes his treatment, but, though he dislikes to hear him say he must submit to surgery or cautery, still he obeys; for his life is at stake. And yet why have I said this? For my remedy, the one I offer your cities, is a most pleasant remedy, and one without which no man would wish to live, if he has good sense.

But I want to break up my address, and first of all to speak about concord itself in general, telling both whence it comes and what it achieves, and then over against that to set off strife and hatred in contradistinction to friendship. For when concord has been proved to be beneficial to all mankind, the proof will naturally follow that this particular concord between these particular cities is both quite indispensable for you and quite profitable as well. I shall not, however, refrain from telling also how concord may endure when once achieved; for that problem, indeed, I see is bothering many.[1] But I

[1] This analysis is adhered to faithfully and shows that the speaker has prepared his address with care.

9 οχλοῦν. εὔχομαι δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων, εἰ ταῦτα εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς μόνους ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ νῦν λέγω καὶ μηδεμίαν οἰκείαν θηρώμενος δόξαν ἢ λυσιτέλειαν ἐκ τῆς καταλλαγῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας, καὶ πρὸ πάντων εἰ μέλλει λυσιτελήσειν[1] τῇ πόλει, δοῦναι μὲν ἐμοὶ τοὺς ἀξίους τοῦ πράγματος εἰπεῖν λόγους, παρασχεῖν δὲ ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ πεισθῆναι τὰ συμφέροντα βουλομένους.

10 Ὁμόνοιαν τοίνυν πάντες μὲν ἐπῄνεσαν ἀεὶ καὶ λέγοντες καὶ γράφοντες, καὶ μεστὰ τῶν ἐγκωμίων αὐτῆς ἐστι καὶ τὰ ποιήματα καὶ τὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων συγγράμματα, καὶ ὅσοι τὰς ἱστορίας ἐξέδοσαν ἐπὶ παραδείγματι αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἀπέδειξαν αὐτὴν μέγιστον οὖσαν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀγαθῶν, καὶ πολλοὶ τολμήσαντες ἤδη τῶν σοφιστῶν παραδόξους εἰπεῖν λόγους μόνον τοῦτον οὐκ ἐπενοήθησαν[2] ἐξενεγκεῖν, ὡς οὐ καλὸν ἡ ὁμόνοια καὶ σωτήριόν ἐστιν· ὥστε[3] τοῖς τε νῦν βουλομένοις αὐτὴν ἐγκωμιάζειν καὶ τοῖς ἀεὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν[4] ἄφθονος ἡ τῶν λόγων ὕλη, καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ πλείω καὶ κρείττω περὶ αὐτῆς ἐξέσται λέγειν.

11 Εἴτε γὰρ ὑπὲρ γενέσεως αὐτῆς πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐθέλοι τις, ἀνάγκη τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτὴν[5] ἐπανάγειν ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν θείων πραγμάτων. ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ καὶ φιλία ἐστὶ καὶ καταλλαγὴ καὶ συγγένεια, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα περιείληφεν. καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα δὲ τί

[1] μέλλει λυσιτελήσειν Emperius: μελλήσει λυσιτελεῖν.
[2] ἐπενοήθησαν editio princeps: ἀπενοήθησαν.
[3] ὥστε added by Crosby.
[4] καὶ τοῖς ἀεὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν] deleted by Wilamowitz; Reiske inserts βουλησομένοις after ἀεί.
[5] αὐτὴν] αὐτῆς Reiske.

pray to all the gods, both yours and theirs,[1] that if what I now say is said because of goodwill to you alone and not in pursuit of any personal glory or advantage to be derived from your reconciliation, and above all if it is destined to be of advantage to the state—if this is true, I pray that the gods may not only grant me such eloquence as is worthy of my cause, but that they may also make you willing to take my advice in the matters which are to your advantage.

Well then, concord has been lauded by all men always in both speech and writing. Not only are the works of poets and philosophers alike full of its praises, but also all who have published their histories to provide a pattern for practical application[2] have shown concord to be the greatest of human blessings, and, furthermore, although many of the sophists have in the past ventured to make paradoxical statements, this is the only one it has not occurred to them to publish—that concord is not a fine and salutary thing. Therefore, not only for those who now desire to sing its praises, but also for those who at any time would do so, the material for their use is abundant, and it will ever be possible to say more and finer things about it.

For example, if a man should wish to delve into its origin, he must trace its very beginning to the greatest of divine things. For the same manifestation is both friendship and reconciliation and kinship, and it embraces all these. Furthermore, what but

[1] Both cities worshipped, in general, the same deities. Cf. § 22.

[2] This practical aim is easily discernible in the work of many of the Greek historians, notably in Herodotus.

ἄλλο ἢ ὁμόνοια ἑνοῖ; καὶ[1] δι' οὗ σῴζεται πάντα τὰ μέγιστα τοῦτό ἐστι, καὶ δι' οὗ πάντα ἀπόλλυται τοὐναντίον. εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ θνητὸν ἦμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι γένος μηδ' ἔδει πολλὰ εἶναι τὰ φθείροντα ἡμᾶς, οὐκ ἂν ἦν οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἡ στάσις, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς θείοις[2] ἔνεστιν. ᾧ δὲ μόνῳ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἀπολειπόμεθα τῆς θείας καὶ τῆς ἀφθάρτου διαμονῆς ἐκείνων, τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὅτι μὴ πάντες ὁμονοίας αἰσθανόμεθα, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν οἱ καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν αὐτῇ φιλοῦντες, τὴν στάσιν, ἧς μέρη καὶ ὑπουργήματα πόλεμοι καὶ μάχαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς δήμοις ἀναστρέφεται καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν
12 τοῖς σώμασιν αἱ νόσοι. καὶ γὰρ τὴν ὑγείαν ἐπιστάμενοι μέγιστον οὖσαν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀγαθῶν ὅμως αὐτῇ πολλάκις αὐτοὶ καθ' αὑτῶν ἐπιβουλεύομεν, οἱ μὲν ἡδοναῖς πεισθέντες, οἱ δὲ πόνους φεύγοντες ὑγιεινοὺς καὶ διαίτας σώφρονας. εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο τοῖς μεγίστοις τῶν κακῶν ὑπῆρχε βοήθημα, ἡ παραυτίκα ἡδονή, δύναμιν ἂν οὐδ' ὅλως εἶχε βλάπτειν· νῦν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ἡ φύσις, ὥστε ἐξαπατᾶν δύνασθαι καὶ τέρπειν τοὺς ἀδικουμένους.
13 Καὶ ἐπί γε ᾧ τις ἂν καὶ μάλιστα φθονήσειεν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ κακὰ[3] λυπεῖ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁποῖά ἐστιν ἐπισταμένους. εἰ μὲν οὖν τις ἐρωτήσειεν ἕνα ἄνδρα ἢ πολλοὺς ὁμοῦ περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῶν, ἐν ποίῳ δὴ μέρει τὰ τοιαῦτα κατατάττεται, πόλεμοι καὶ στάσεις καὶ νόσοι καὶ

[1] ὁμόνοια ἑνοῖ; καὶ Emperius: ὁμόνοιαν εἶναι καί.
[2] θείοις Emperius: θεοῖς.
[3] πάντα τὰ κακὰ] which Arnim deletes.

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[1] I.e., water, fire, air, earth. Cf. Or. 40. 35-37.

concord unites the elements?[1] Again, that through which all the greatest things are preserved is concord, while that through which everything is destroyed is its opposite. If, then, we human beings were not by nature a race of mortals, and if the forces which destroy us were not bound to be numerous, there would not be strife even in human affairs, just as also there is not in things divine.[2] However, the only respect in which we fall short of the blessedness of the gods and of their indestructible permanence is this—that we are not all sensitive to concord, but, on the contrary, there are those who actually love its opposite, strife, of which wars and battles constitute departments and subsidiary activities, and these things are continually at work in communities and in nations, just like the diseases in our bodies. For in fact, though we know full well that health is the greatest of human blessings, still many times we ourselves plot against it to our own undoing, some yielding to the seduction of pleasures and some shirking labours which are healthful and habits which are prudent. On the other hand, if the greatest of our evils did not have for their support the pleasure of the moment, they would have no power at all to harm us; yet as it is, Nature has given that to them, and so they can deceive and delight their victims.

Moreover, what might actually make one most indignant toward mankind is this—that all the evils afflict them though knowing well their nature. At any rate, if one were to question a single person, or a company of persons, about the terms themselves, asking in what category are to be placed such terms as wars, factions, diseases, and the like, no one would

[2] Cf. Or. 40. 38-41.

τὰ τούτοις ὁμότροπα, οὐδὲν ἂν μελλήσας ἀποκρίναιτο[1] οὐδεὶς[2] ὅτι ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς τάττεται καὶ
14 οὕτως[3] ἔχει καὶ νενόμισται καὶ καλεῖται κακά. τὰ δ' ἐναντία τούτοις, εἰρήνη καὶ ὁμόνοια καὶ ὑγεία, καὶ ταῦτα οὐδεὶς ἂν[4] ἀντείποι μὴ οὐχὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ εἶναι καὶ λέγεσθαι. φανερᾶς δὲ οὕτως οὔσης τῆς μάχης τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὅμως εἰσί τινες, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλοί, οἵτινες τῶν κακῶν τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις χαίρομεν. καὶ περὶ δὲ τῆς νεὼς πάντες οἱ πλέοντες ἐπιστάμενοι διότι μία αὕτη[5] ἐστὶ σωτηρία, τὸ τοὺς ναύτας ὁμονοεῖν καὶ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ πείθεσθαι, γενομένης δὲ στάσεως ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἀπειθείας διότι καὶ τὰ δεξιὰ πολλάκις τῶν πνευμάτων εἰς ἐναντίον τῇ νηὶ περιίσταται καὶ τῶν λιμένων ἀποτυγχάνουσιν ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ὅμως στασιάζουσιν ἔστιν ὅτε ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης οἱ ναῦται,[6] καὶ τοῦτο ἀπόλλυσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπισταμένους τοῦ ὀλέθρου τὴν αἰτίαν.

15 Καὶ τῶν οἴκων δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας οὔσης ἔν τε τῇ τῶν δεσποτῶν ὁμοφροσύνῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν οἰκετῶν πειθαρχίᾳ, πολλοὺς ὅμως οἴκους ἀπώλεσεν ἥ τε δεσποτικὴ στάσις καὶ ἡ κακοδουλία. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἅρματι ποία καταλείπεται σωτηρία τῶν ἵππων συνθεῖν μὴ θελόντων; ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἄρξωνται διαστάντες ἀφέλκειν ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη κινδυνεύειν τὸν ἡνίοχον. ὁ δὲ γάμος ὁ ἀγαθὸς τι ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ ὁμόνοια ἀνδρὸς πρὸς γυναῖκα; καὶ

[1] ἀποκρίναιτο Geel : ἀπεκρίνατο.
[2] οὐδεὶς] which Geel deletes.
[3] After οὕτως Reiske adds ὡς.
[4] ἂν added by Reiske.
[5] αὕτη] αὐτῇ Geel.
[6] οἱ ναῦται] which Arnim deletes.

hesitate a moment to reply that these are classed among the evils, and that they not only are so but have been so considered and are called evils. And as for their opposites, peace and concord and health, no one would deny that they likewise both are and are called goods. But though the conflict between the evil things and the good is so manifest, yet there are some among us—or rather a good many—who delight in the things which are admittedly evil. And take, for example, a ship—though all on board are well aware that the one hope of reaching port in safety lies in having the sailors on good terms with one another and obedient to the skipper, but that when strife and mutiny arise in it, even the favourable winds often veer round to oppose the ship's course and they fail to make their harbours, even when close at hand,[1] still the sailors sometimes foolishly quarrel, and this works their ruin, though they know the cause of their destruction.

Again, take our households—although their safety depends not only on the like-mindedness of master and mistress but also on the obedience of the servants, yet both the bickering of master and mistress and the wickedness of the servants have wrecked many households. Why, what safety remains for the chariot, if the horses refuse to run as a team? For when they begin to separate and to pull one this way and one that, the driver is inevitably in danger. And the good marriage, what else is it save concord between man and wife? And the bad marriage, what

[1] Greek literature abounds in nautical allusions and similes, and such references must have been effective with the people of Nicomedia. Off-shore breezes often hinder small sailing ships on entering the harbour. For a similar allusion, cf. Or. 34. 16.

ὁ κακὸς γάμος τί ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ ἡ τούτων διχόνοια; καὶ τέκνων δὲ τίς ὠφέλεια γονεῦσιν, ὅταν ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης ἄρξηται στασιάζειν πρὸς αὐτούς; ἡ δὲ ἀδελφότης τί ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ ἀδελφῶν ὁμόνοια; ἡ δὲ φιλία τί ἄλλο ἢ φίλων ὁμόνοια;

16 Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα οὐ μόνον ἀγαθά ἐστι καὶ καλά, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἥδιστα· τὰ δὲ ἐναντία τούτοις οὐ κακὰ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀηδῆ· καὶ ὅμως αὐτὰ πολλάκις ἀντὶ τῶν ἡδίστων ἀγαθῶν προαιρούμεθα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολέμους ἤδη τινὲς ἀντὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπανείλοντο μεγάλων ὄντων τῶν διαφόρων,[1] οὐχ ὡς τὸ μάχεσθαι κρεῖττον ὂν ἢ ἥδιον καὶ δικαιότερον τοῦ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγειν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ βασιλείας, οἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας, οἱ δὲ γῆν κτώμενοι μὴ ἔχοντες,[2] οἱ δὲ θάλατταν περιποιούμενοι· καὶ τηλικούτων ὅμως τῶν ἄθλων κειμένων ἐν τῷ μέσῳ πολλοὶ κατέθεντο τὸν πόλεμον ὡς κακὸν[3] ὄντα οὐδὲ ἀντὶ
17 τῶν μεγίστων αἱρεθῆναί σφισιν[4] ἄξιον. τὸ δὲ καὶ χωρὶς ὑποθέσεως πολεμεῖν καὶ μάχεσθαι τί ἄλλο ἢ μανία παντελής ἐστι καὶ διὰ ταύτην κακῶν ἐπιθυμία; τὰ μὲν οὖν θηρία διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα οἱ ἄνθρωποι μισοῦμεν, ὅτι πόλεμος ἡμῖν ἀδιάλλακτος πρὸς ταῦτά ἐστιν ἀεί. πολλοὶ δὲ καί τινες ἡμῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὡς θηρίοις χρώμενοι χαίρουσι τῇ πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον γιγνομένῃ μάχῃ.

18 Καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν σημείων αἰσθανόμεθα τῶν θείων, ὅσα διδάσκοντες ἡμᾶς ὁμονοεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπεφήμισαν.

[1] διαφόρων Reiske: διαφορῶν.
[2] μὴ ἔχοντες] which Weil deletes.
[3] κακὸν with U: οὐ κακὸν B, οὐ κακὄντα M, οὐκ ἂν Emperius.
[4] σφισιν Emperius: τισιν.

is it save their discord? Moreover, what benefit are children to parents, when through folly they begin to rebel against them? And what is fraternity save concord of brothers? And what is friendship save concord among friends?

Besides, all these things are not only good and noble but also very pleasant, whereas their opposites are not only evil but also unpleasant; and yet we often prefer them instead of the most pleasant goods. For example, there have been times when people have chosen wars instead of peace, despite the great differences between the two, not under the delusion that fighting is better or more pleasant and more righteous than keeping the peace, but because some were striving for kingly power, some for liberty, some for territory they did not have, and some for control of the sea. And yet, though the prizes awaiting the victor are so rich, many have laid war aside as an evil thing and not fit to be chosen by them in preference to the things of highest value. But the waging of war and fighting even without occasion, what is that but utter madness and a craving for evils which is occasioned by madness? Now the chief reason why we human beings hate wild beasts is that remorseless warfare exists between them and us for ever; yet many even of us treat human beings too as wild beasts and take pleasure in the conflict waged with those of our own kind.

What is more, we take no notice of the signs sent by the gods, all those signs and omens by which they try to teach us to live on good terms with one another.

καὶ γὰρ κήρυκές τινες ἐκ τῶν θεῶν εἶναι λέγονται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν εἰρήνη μὲν ἐπικηρύσσεται, πόλεμοι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀκήρυκτοι γίγνονται. καὶ γυμνοὶ πρεσβεύουσιν εἰς ὡπλισμένους ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης καὶ ἀδικῆσαι οὐκ ἔξεστιν αὐτῶν οὐδένα, ὡς τῶν θεῶν ἅπαντας τοὺς ὑπὲρ φιλίας ἀγγέλους. καὶ ὅταν συνερχομένων εἰς μάχην στρατῶν ἢ διοσημία φανῇ αἰφνίδιος ἢ τῆς γῆς γένηται σεισμός, ἀποστρέφονται εὐθὺς οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀποχωροῦσιν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ὡς τῶν
19 θεῶν οὐ βουλομένων αὐτοὺς μάχεσθαι· πολέμου δὲ σημεῖον οὐδὲν θεῖόν ἐστιν ὑπειλημμένον· καὶ ὅσα δὲ δὴ ἥδιστά τε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ εὐδαιμονίας σύμβολα, ταῦτα πάντα ποιοῦμεν, ἐπειδὰν εἰρήνη γένηται, καὶ στεφανούμεθα καὶ θύομεν καὶ ἑορτάζομεν· τὰ δὲ ἐναντία πάντα ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πένθεσι, καὶ συγκλειόμεθα ἔσω πυλῶν καὶ δεδοίκαμεν πάντα καὶ ἀπελπίζομεν ἑαυτούς· καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τότε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν κλαίουσι καὶ οἱ παῖδες ὑπὲρ τῶν πατέρων ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις κακοῖς.

20 Ἐπειδὰν μὲν οὖν λοιμὸς ἢ σεισμὸς γένηται, τοῖς θεοῖς ἐγκαλοῦμεν, ὡς κακῶν παρέχουσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἰτίας, καὶ οὔ φαμεν αὐτοὺς εἶναι δικαίους οὐδὲ φιλανθρώπους, οὐδὲ ἂν τὰ μάλιστα ἡμῖν ἡμαρτηκόσιν ἐπιτιμῶσι σὺν τῇ δίκῃ· τοσοῦτον μῖσός ἐστι πρὸς τὰ αὐτόματα τῶν κακῶν. πόλεμον δέ, ὅστις οὐχ ἧττον ἀπόλλυσιν ἢ σεισμός, αὐτοὶ προαιρούμεθα καὶ τοῖς αἰτίοις τούτων ἀνθρώποις οὐχ

Indeed they are said to be, as it were, heralds sent by the gods, and for that reason among ourselves also, while peace is proclaimed by heralds, wars for the most part take place unheralded. Furthermore, men go unarmed into an armed camp as envoys to sue for peace and it is not permitted to wrong any of them, the belief being that all messengers in behalf of friendship are servants of the gods. Again, whenever, as armies come together for battle, there suddenly appears an omen from heaven or there occurs a quaking of the earth, immediately the men wheel about and withdraw from one another, believing the gods do not wish them to fight; but no divine portent is deemed a signal for war. And furthermore, when peace is brought about, we do all those things which are not only most pleasant for mortals but also tokens of happiness—we bedeck ourselves with garlands, offer sacrifice, and hold high festival; but we do quite the opposite in time of war, just as in time of mourning—we shut ourselves within the gates, live in dread of every thing, and abandon ourselves to despair. Moreover, at such times the women wail for their husbands and the children for their fathers, as they would over the greatest calamities.

Again, whenever there comes a pestilence or an earthquake, we blame the gods, in the belief that they cause misery for mankind, and we claim they are not righteous or benevolent, not even if they are punishing us justly for most grievous sins; so great is our hatred of those evils which occur through chance. Yet war, which is no less destructive than an earthquake, we choose of our own volition; and we do not blame at all the human beings who are

ἐγκαλοῦμεν οὐδέν, ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ τούτους εἶναι καὶ φιλοδήμους δοκοῦμεν καὶ λεγόντων ἥδιστα ἀκούομεν αὐτῶν καὶ συμβουλεύουσι πειθόμεθα, καὶ πάσας αὐτοῖς παρέχομεν ἀντὶ τῶν κακῶν—οὐκ ἀμοιβάς, ἀμοιβαὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἴσων ἂν ἐγίγνοντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς[1] κακῶν—ἀλλὰ χάριτας καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἐπαίνους· ὥστε σφόδρα ἂν εἶεν ἀνόητοι τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς ἔτι χάριν εἰδότων φειδόμενοι.

21 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον, ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς, τὰς αἰτίας τῆς στάσεως ἴδωμεν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τηλικαῦτά ἐστιν, ὥστ' ἄξιον εἶναι πολεμεῖν πόλεμον οὐ σύντομον, οἷος ἂν[2] τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐγίγνετο καὶ παρηγορίαν εἶχε τὸ τάχος τῆς διακρίσεως, ἀλλὰ μακρὸν καὶ ἄπαυστον, ὥστε αὐτὸν ὑπολείπεσθαι καὶ τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις καὶ μηδέποτε σχεῖν ἐλπίδα καταλλαγῆς, ἀγωνιζώμεθα καὶ στασιάζωμεν καὶ πράγματα παρέχωμεν ἀλλήλοις ὅσα ἔνεστι παρέχειν, ἀχθόμενοι διότι μὴ καὶ[3] πλείω δυνάμεθα. εἰ δὲ μάλιστα μὲν οὐδέν ἐστι τὸ ἆθλον τούτου τοῦ κακοῦ, τὰ δὲ δοκοῦντα εἶναι καὶ μικρά ἐστι καὶ φαῦλα καὶ οὐδ' ἰδιώτας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν στασιάζειν ἄξιόν ἐστιν, οὐχ ὅπως πόλεις τηλικαύτας, μὴ πάσχωμεν ὅμοιόν τι τοῖς ἄφροσι τῶν παίδων, οἵτινες αἰδούμενοι μὴ δοκῶσι μάτην ὀργίζεσθαι τοῖς πατράσιν ἢ ταῖς μητράσιν οὐ βούλονται καταλλάττεσθαι ῥᾳδίως.

22 Ὑπὲρ μὲν οὖν γῆς ἢ θαλάττης οὐ δὴ[4] μαχόμεθα, ἀλλὰ θαλάττης μὲν οὐδ' ἀντιποιοῦνται πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἱ Νικαεῖς, ἀλλ' ἡδέως, ὥστε μηδεμίαν παρέχειν

[1] After αὐτοὺς Reiske adds κακαί. [2] ἂν Emperius : ἐν.
[3] μὴ καὶ Emperius : καὶ μή. [4] οὐ δὴ Weil : οὐδὲ.

responsible for these evils, as we blame the gods for earthquake or pestilence, but we even think them patriotic and we listen to them with delight when they speak, we follow their advice, and in payment for the evils they occasion we give them every kind of—I won't say return, for return would mean evil for evil—but rather thanks and honours and words of praise ; and so they would be very witless indeed if they spared those who are even grateful for their evils.

First of all, then, men of Nicomedia, let us inspect the reasons for your strife. For if the issues are so great that it is fitting to wage a war that is no short one, such as could be waged by force of arms and have as its consolation the speed of its decision, but instead a long war without cessation, one to be handed on to our children and our children's children and never achieve the hope of settlement, then let us engage in the struggle, maintain the strife, and make all the trouble we can for one another, being vexed that our powers are not even greater. But if at best the prize for which this evil is endured is a mere nothing and the supposed issues are both small and trifling and it is not fitting even for private persons to squabble over them, much less cities of such importance, then let us not behave at all like foolish children who, ashamed lest they may seem to their fathers or their mothers to be enraged without a cause, do not wish to make it up with one another lightly.

Well now, surely we are not fighting for land or sea ; on the contrary, the Nicaeans do not even present counterclaims against you for the sea, but they have gladly withdrawn from competition so as to

μάχην, διακέκρινται. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ προσόδων ἀγωνιζόμεθα, ἀλλὰ ἑκάστοις ἀπόχρη τὰ οἰκεῖα· καὶ ταῦτα δὲ[1] τυγχάνει διωρισμένα, καὶ μήν γε καὶ τἄλλα πάντα, ὥσπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ φιλίᾳ. καὶ καρπῶν εἰσιν ἀντιδόσεις καὶ γάμων ἐπιμιξίαι καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ συγγένειαι πολλαί τινες ἤδη γεγενημέναι· καὶ προξενίας δὲ ἔχομεν καὶ φιλίας ἰδιωτικάς. θεούς τε τοὺς αὐτοὺς νομίζετε καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς πλείστας ὁμοίως ἄγετε. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐθῶν οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμία ὑμῖν μάχη. τούτων δὲ ἁπάντων οὐκ ἔχθρας παρεχόντων αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ
23 τοὐναντίον φιλίας καὶ ὁμονοίας, μαχόμεθα. κἂν τις ὑμᾶς ἐπιστὰς ἔρηται, Τί δὲ ὑμᾶς οἱ Νικαεῖς ἀδικοῦσιν; οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν ἕξετε. κἂν ἐκείνων πύθηται πάλιν, Τί δὲ οἱ Νικομηδεῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ὑμᾶς; οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ λέγειν ἕξουσιν οὐδὲ ἕν.

Ἀλλὰ ἆθλόν ἐστιν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κείμενον, ὑπὲρ οὗ διαφέρεσθε. καὶ τί τοῦτό ἐστιν; ἃ μέν γε καὶ ὀνομάσαι ἄξιον καὶ ὁμολογῆσαι καὶ περὶ ὧν ἂν καὶ συγγνοίη[2] τις τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις, τούτων οὐδέν ἐστι, τὰ δὲ ὄντα[3] οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ ὁμολογῆσαι[4] καλῶς ἔχει· τοιαῦτά ἐστιν, οὕτω σμικρά, οὕτως τὰ τυχόντα, ἐφ᾽ οἷς οἱ μὲν ἀνόητοι φιλοτιμηθεῖεν ἂν
24 ἴσως, εὖ δὲ φρονῶν ἂν οὐδείς. οἱ γὰρ παρακαλοῦντες ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν στάσιν (δι᾽ ἃς δὲ αἰτίας οὐκ

[1] δὲ] δὴ Arnim.
[2] συγγνοίη Reiske : συγγνώμη.
[3] οὐδέν ἐστι, τὰ δὲ ὄντα Selden : οὐδ᾽ ἔστι, τὰ δέοντα BM, οὐδέστι τὰ δέοντα U.
[4] After ὁμολογῆσαι Emperius deletes ὡς.

afford no cause for conflict. And what is more, we are not contending for revenues either, but each side is content with what is its own; moreover, these matters, as it happens, have been clearly delimited—and so indeed is all else besides—just as if in peace and friendship. Furthermore, there is interchange of produce between the two cities, as well as intermarriage, and in consequence already there have come to be many family ties between us; yes, and we have proxenies[1] and ties of personal friendship to unite us. Besides, you worship the same gods as they do, and in most cases you conduct your festivals as they do. In fact you have no quarrel as to your customs either. Yet, though all these things afford no occasion for hostility, but rather for friendship and concord, still we fight. And if some one comes up and asks you, "But how are the Nicaeans wronging you?" you will have nothing to reply. And if he asks them in turn, "But how are the men of Nicomedia wronging you?" they too will not have a single thing to say.

However, there is a prize at stake between you, one over which you are at odds. And what is this prize? It is none of those things which are fit to name or to acknowledge, and the competitors for which one might even pardon, nay, its constituent elements it is not well even to mention or acknowledge; they are of such a nature, so petty, so commonplace, things upon which fools perhaps might pride themselves, but not any man of good sense. For those who summon you to the contest—but their motives it is perhaps not for me to scrutinize

[1] The Greek *proxenos* was roughly comparable to the modern consul.

ἐμὸν ἴσως ἐξελέγχειν) ἀλλ' οἵ γε χαίροντες αὐτῇ τοῦτο μόνον λαλοῦσιν· Ὑπὲρ πρωτείων ἀγωνιζόμεθα. τούτους οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐρήσομαι πάλιν ἐγώ· Τίνων πρωτείων; καὶ πότερον ἔργῳ καὶ πράγματι δοθησομένων ἢ περὶ ὀνόματος αὐτὸ μόνον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν ἡ μάχη;

Καὶ πρότερον γὰρ δήποτε ἀκούω τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γενέσθαι στάσεως Ἑλληνικῆς αἴτιον, καὶ πολεμῆσαι περὶ τῶν πρωτείων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς
25 Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ διότι μὲν οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις ἐλυσιτέλησεν ἡ στάσις καὶ ὁ πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνιζόμενοι περὶ τῶν πρωτείων ἀπώλεσαν αὐτὰ ἀμφότεροι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἅπαντες ἐκεῖνα ἴστε καὶ ἴσως κἀγὼ μικρὸν ὕστερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐρῶ. τί δέ; τοῦτο ὡς ὅμοιον ἐκείνῳ προβαλλόμενοι λέγουσιν; Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τοῦ φόρους λαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν νησιωτῶν ἐπολέμουν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ δικάζειν οἴκοι τὰς ἁπάντων δίκας κατὰ ἀλλήλων ἠγωνίζοντο, καὶ καθόλου περὶ βασιλείας ὁ πόλεμος ἦν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐκείναις.

26 Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἂν ἀπολάβωμεν τὸ πρωτεῖον ἀμαχεὶ παραδόντων αὐτὸ τῶν Νικαέων, πότερα ληψόμεθα τοὺς φόρους οὓς νῦν ἐκεῖνοι λαμβάνουσιν; ἢ τὰς πόλεις τὰς συντελούσας εἰς τὸ παρ' ἐκείνοις δικαστήριον ἐνταυθοῖ καλέσομεν; ἢ πέμψομεν αὐτοῖς ἁρμοστάς; ἢ δεκάτας τὰς[1] παρὰ τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἐκείνοις ἔλαττον παρέξομεν; ἢ τί ἔσται; καὶ τί

[1] τὰς added by Emperius.

[1] The rivalry between Athens and Sparta formed an apt text for Dio on other occasions. Cf. Or. 34. 49-51.

[2] Dio makes passing allusion to this struggle in § 38, but he fails to include reference to their loss of the leadership.

—however that may be, those who delight in it prate of naught but this: "We are contending for primacy." Very well, I will reply to these same persons with the query: "What primacy? And is it a primacy to be actually and in fact conceded to you, or is your battle for a name and nothing more?"

Yes, I hear that this is not the first time this same thing has served as the cause of strife among the Greeks—that the Athenians and the Spartans went to war for the primacy.[1] Moreover, that strife and warfare were not profitable in their case either, but in struggling with one another for the primacy they both lost it, you all know and I myself may possibly mention a bit later.[2] What then? In proposing this struggle of yours do they speak of it as similar to that of the Athenians and the Spartans? The Athenians waged war that they might continue to receive tribute from the islanders,[3] and they and their opponents fought each other over the right of every man to have his lawsuits tried in his own home city, and, broadly speaking, the war between those states was for the prize of empire.

But if *we* recover the primacy, the Nicaeans relinquishing it without a fight, shall we receive the tribute they get now? Shall we summon for trial here the cities which now are subject to their jurisdiction? Shall we send them military governors?[4] Shall we any the less permit them to have the tithes from Bithynia? Or what will be the

[3] The Athenian empire did not consist wholly of islanders, but "the islands" was a common phrase to denote the member states.

[4] Seemingly an allusion to the "harmosts" Sparta sent out after the defeat of Athens to insure Spartan control of the Aegean.

ἡμῖν γενήσεται πλέον; ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων νομίζω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν πραττομένων οὐχὶ μάτην οὐδ᾽ εἰκῇ σπουδάζειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ γίγνεσθαι
27 τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀντί τινος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πολεμῶν ἢ περὶ ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεται, καταδουλουμένων αὐτὸν ἄλλων, ἢ περὶ ἀρχῆς, αὐτὸς ἑτέρους καταδουλούμενος. ὁ δὲ πλέων τὴν θάλατταν οὐκ ἄλην εἰκῇ[1] διατίθεται· κινδυνεύει γὰρ ἤτοι γε ὁδοῦ χάριν ἢ ἐμπορίας. ἵνα δὲ μὴ πάντα φέρω τὰ παραδείγματα, ἁπλῶς καὶ πράττομεν ἅπαντα οἱ ἄνθρωποι τέλους ἕνεκεν ἀγαθοῦ καὶ φεύγομεν τὰς ἐναντίας πράξεις τέλους ἕνεκεν κακοῦ. τὸ δὲ χωρὶς αἰτίας
28 σπουδάζειν ἢ πονεῖν, τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν ὃ τοῖς ἀνοήτοις προσήκει μόνοις. εἰ μὲν οὖν τις σπουδὴν ἔχοι καλεῖσθαι βασιλεὺς ἰδιώτης ὤν, καὶ τοῦτο ἄριστα ἐπιστάμενος αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ, τοὐναντίον οὗτος ᾗ ᾖ[2] δοκεῖ γέλωτα ὀφλήσει, χρώμενος ὀνόματι ψευδεῖ δίχα πράγματος. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὁμοίως ἁπάντων, κἂν αὐλητής τις ἐθέλῃ δοκεῖν, αὐλεῖν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος, κἂν μουσικὸς οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ μουσικῆς εἰδώς, κἂν κιθαριστὴς οὐδὲ ἅψασθαι τῆς λύρας ἐπιστημόνως δυνάμενος. τοὺς μὲν οὖν τοιούτους οὐδὲν κωλύσει καὶ μαινομένους δοκεῖν, ἡμεῖς δὲ οἰόμεθα, ἐὰν ἐπιγραφῶμέν που πρῶτοι, τὸ πρω-
29 τεῖον ἕξειν; ποῖον, ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς, πρωτεῖον;

[1] ἄλην εἰκῇ Geel : ἄλλη νίκη UM, ἄλλην νίκην B.
[2] ᾗ ᾖ Emperius, ἢ οἱ Sonny : ἤει M, ᾖ ἢ UB, εἰ ἢ T.

situation? And what benefit will accrue to us? For I believe that in all their undertakings men do not exert themselves idly or at random, but that their struggle is always for some end. For example, the man who goes to war fights either for liberty—in which case others are trying to enslave him—or for sovereignty—in which case he himself is trying to enslave the others. Similarly the man who goes to sea does not undertake an aimless roving, for surely the risks he takes are either for the purpose of reaching some destination or else for trafficking. But, not to present all the various illustrations, in a word we human beings not only do all we do because of an end that is good, but we also avoid the opposite activities because of an end that is evil. On the other hand, to exert oneself or toil without a reason is appropriate for fools alone. If, for example, a man should entertain a serious purpose to be called King when he is merely a private citizen—and when, moreover, he knows that fact about himself perfectly well—quite contrary to his fond imagining, he would become a laughing-stock, inasmuch as he would be using a false title devoid of reality. And it is much the same in all the other matters too, whether a man wishes to be thought a flautist when he doesn't know how to blow the pipes, or musical when he knows nothing of the art of music, or a player of the cithara when he cannot even touch the harp intelligently. While, therefore, there will be nothing to prevent men like that from being deemed actually crazy, do we imagine that, provided we are somewhere registered as "first," we shall actually have the primacy? What kind of primacy, men of Nicomedia? You see, I am going to ask

καὶ γὰρ δεύτερον ὑμᾶς ἐρήσομαι καὶ τρίτον· οὗ τί τὸ ὄφελός ἐστιν; οὗ τί τὸ ἔργον; ἀφ' οὗ πότερον πλουσιώτεροι γενησόμεθα ἢ μείζονες ἢ δυνατώτεροι; τὸ κενοδοξεῖν ἀνόητον μὲν εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν νενόμισται, καὶ μάλιστα τούτων καταγελῶμεν καὶ διαπτύομεν αὐτοὶ[1] καὶ τελευτῶντες ἐλεοῦμεν τοὺς οὐκ ἐπισταμένους τίνι διαφέρει δόξα ψευδὴς ἀληθοῦς· καὶ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἔχει πρὸς αὐτήν, ὡς ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀνοήτου[2] πράγματος.[3]

Ταῖς δὲ πόλεσι φῇ τις κοινῇ προσήκειν ὅσα μηδὲ
τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοῖς γενναίοις καὶ πεπαιδευμένοις;
30 καθόλου δ' εἴ τις ὑμᾶς ἔροιτο, Ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς,
τί βούλεσθε, πότερον εἶναι πρῶτοι ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἢ
καλεῖσθαι μὴ ὄντες; ὁμολογήσαιτε ἂν δήπουθεν εἶ-
ναι πρῶτοι μᾶλλον ἐθέλειν ἢ καλεῖσθαι μάτην. οὐ
γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα δύναμιν ἔχει τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων·
ὅσα δὲ ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα, οὕτω καὶ ἐξ
31 ἀνάγκης ὀνομάζεται. πειρᾶσθε τοίνυν πρωτεύειν
τῶν πόλεων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς ἐπιμελείας
τῆς περὶ αὐτάς· τοῦτο μὲν γάρ,[4] καθὸ μητρόπολίς
ἐστε,[5] ἐξαίρετόν ἐστιν ἔργον ὑμέτερον· εἶτα τῷ
παρέχειν αὐτοὺς δικαίους ἅπασι καὶ μετρίους καὶ
μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν μηδενὶ μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι. ταῦτα
γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀπεχθείας κινεῖ καὶ διαφοράς,
φύσει μὲν τῶν ἐλαττόνων πρὸς τοὺς μείζονας ὑπ-
όπτως διακειμένων, ὡς ἐξ ἅπαντος πλεονεκτεῖσθαι

[1] αὐτοὶ Capps: αὐτοῖς, which Arnim deletes.

[2] ἀνοήτου] ἀνονήτου Casaubon.

[3] ὡς . . . πράγματος deleted by Arnim.

[4] γάρ added by Emperius.

[5] ἐστε Reiske: ἐστιν.

you a second time,[1] and even a third time. A primacy whose utility is what? Whose function is what? One by reason of which we shall become wealthier or greater or more powerful? Vainglory has come to be regarded as a foolish thing even in private individuals, and we ourselves deride and loathe, and end by pitying, those persons above all who do not know wherein false glory differs from the genuine; besides, no educated man has such a feeling about glory as to desire a foolish thing.

Shall we say, then, that all those things befit our cities as communities which do not befit even persons in private life who are men of breeding and cultivation? But, speaking generally, if some one were to question you and say, "Men of Nicomedia, what do you want? To be first in very truth, or to be called first when you are not?" Surely you would admit that you prefer to *be* first rather than to be called first to no purpose. For names have not the force of facts; whereas things that are in very truth of a given nature must also of necessity be so named. Try, therefore, to hold first place among our cities primarily on the strength of your solicitude for them—for since you are a metropolis,[2] such indeed is your special function—and then too by showing yourselves fair and moderate toward all, and by not being grasping in any matter or trying to gain your end by force. For greed and violence necessarily stir up hatreds and disagreements, since it is natural that the weaker party should be disposed to look with suspicion on the stronger, believing they are due to

[1] Cf. § 24.

[2] To the Greek the word metropolis meant primarily mother-city.

μελλόντων, ὅταν δὲ καὶ ἔργῳ τοῦτο γίγνηται, δικαιότερον τῆς ἀπεχθείας παροξυνομένης.

32 Ἔξεστι δὲ ὑμῖν εὐεργετεῖν τὰς πόλεις καὶ πλέον καὶ μεῖζον ἢ ἐκείνοις, τὸ μὲν[1] πρῶτον καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ἐξ ἧς ἁπάντων μὲν καὶ τῶν νῦν κομιζομένων μετέχουσι τὰ μὲν χάριτι[2]—δεῖ δὲ δημοσίᾳ χαρίζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἰδίᾳ τινάς[3]—τὰ δὲ καὶ διακλέπτοντες αὐτοί, τὰ δ' αἰτούμενοι παρ' ἕκαστα· καὶ ἀντιλέγετε μὲν οὐδέποτε τοῖς αἰτήσασιν ὑμεῖς, αὐτὸ δὲ ὅμως φορτικόν ἐστι τὸ τὴν τῆς αἰτήσεως ἀνάγκην ἔχειν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτων ἁπάντων μεταλαμβάνειν ἐπιτρέψετε τοῖς δήμοις τοῖς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν αἰτουμένοις τὸ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἐπεῖγον, πῶς οὐκ εἰκός ἐστι μείζους ὑμᾶς ἔσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, εὐεργετοῦντας αὐτούς; καὶ ἅμα καὶ μεγάλην ποιήσετε τὴν ὁμόνοιαν διὰ πάντων ἐλευσομένην.

33 Πειρᾶσθε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αἰδῶ παρέχειν, ἀεὶ τοῦτο φανερὸν καθιστάντες ὅτι μὴ ἀπόχρη ὑμῖν καλῶς διοικεῖσθαι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ παντὸς ἐπιμελεῖσθε[4] τοῦ τῶν Βιθυνῶν γένους καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον δυσχεραίνετε τοῖς εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικήμασιν ἢ τοῖς εἰς αὐτούς· κἄν[5] τινες καταφύγωσιν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δεόμενοι βοηθείας, προθύμως ἐπαρκεῖτε καὶ ὁμοίως. ταῦτα τὸ πρωτεῖον ὑμῖν παραδώσει τὸ ἀληθινόν, οὐχ ἡ περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων πρὸς Νικαεῖς μάχη.

34 Βουλοίμην δ' ἂν καὶ ἐκείνους τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, καὶ ποιήσουσιν ἐὰν καταλλαγῆτε, καὶ μείζων ἡ δύναμις

[1] μὲν added by Emperius.
[2] μετέχουσι τὰ μὲν χάριτι added by Pflugk.
[3] After τινάς Wilamowitz suspects a lacuna.
[4] ἐπιμελεῖσθε Reiske : ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. [5] κἄν Arnim : ἄν.

be overreached in every matter, and when that does actually take place, their hostility is still more justly aroused.

On the other hand, you have it in your power to benefit the cities more fully and more effectively than the Nicaeans, first and foremost because of the sea, all the revenue of which the cities share even now, partly as a favour—though your city should grant favours officially and not to certain persons privately—partly also through their own smuggling operations, and partly on application in each separate case; and while you never refuse such applicants, still the very necessity of making application is irksome. If, however, you will actually allow the communities who day by day petition for what is urgent for their need the privilege of sharing in all these rights, is it not reasonable to suppose that you will stand higher in their estimation when you become their benefactors? And at the same time you will also increase the concord which will spread everywhere.

But you must also strive to give the provincial governors occasion to respect you, by continually making it manifest that you are not content with merely being well governed yourselves, but that you are concerned for the welfare of the whole Bithynian people, and that you are no less displeased over the wrongs inflicted upon the others than you are over those inflicted upon yourselves; moreover, that if any persons flee to you for succour, you aid them promptly and impartially. This line of conduct is what will yield you that primacy which is genuine, and not your squabble with Nicaeans over titles.

And I should like the Nicaeans also to pursue the same course, and they will do so if you come to

ὑμῶν γενήσεται συντεθεῖσα. καὶ γὰρ τῶν πόλεων ὁμοῦ γενόμενοι πασῶν ἄρξετε, καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι γενήσεται πλείων διατροπὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ φόβος, ἐὰν ἀδικεῖν θέλωσιν. τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι πόλεις ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας στάσεώς εἰσιν ἐπηρμέναι· χρείαν γὰρ αὐτῶν δοκεῖτε ἔχειν καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἔχετε διὰ τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγῶνα καὶ πάσχετε οἷόν τι πάσχουσιν ἐπειδὰν δύο ἐπιφανεῖς ὁμοίως ἄνδρες διαπολιτεύωνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἅπαντας θεραπεύουσι καὶ τοὺς πλεῖστον ὅσον ἀπο-
35 δέοντας αὐτῶν. ὥστε ἐν ᾧ περὶ τοῦ πρωτείου μάχεσθε ὑμεῖς, κινδυνεύει τὸ πρωτεῖον παρ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι τοῖς θεραπευομένοις ὑφ' ὑμῶν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔνεστιν οὐκ ἔχειν τοῦτο δοκεῖν τινας, ὃ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ὑμεῖς λαμβάνειν ἀξιοῦτε. καὶ τὰς πόλεις οὖν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη γενήσεται τὴν τάξιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολαβεῖν, καὶ ὥσπερ εἰκός ἐστι καὶ δίκαιον, ἐκείνας ὑμῶν χρῄζειν, οὐχ ὑμᾶς ἐκείνων. καὶ οὐχὶ παρὰ τοῦτο ἀξιώσω τυραννικῶς ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς προσφέρεσθαι, πρᾴως δὲ καὶ μετρίως, ὥσπερ ὑφηγησάμην μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν, ἵνα μὴ φορτικὸν γένηται τὸ πρωτεῖον ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρωτεῖον ᾖ καὶ φιλῆται.

36 Τὰ δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων νῦν μὲν ὅπως ἔχει, τί δεῖ πρὸς ἐπισταμένους λέγειν; ἢ[1] γὰρ οὐκ ἐπαισθάνεσθε τῆς τυραννίδος, ἣν ἡ στάσις ἡ ὑμετέρα δίδωσι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὑμῶν; εὐθέως γὰρ ὁ βουλόμενος ἀδικῆσαι τὸ ἔθνος εἰδὼς ἥκει τί δεῖ ποιή-

[1] ἢ Emperius : ἦ UB, ἡ M.

[1] Cf. § 31.

terms with them, and the power of each will become greater through union. For by joining forces you will control all the cities, and, what is more, the provincial governors will feel greater reluctance and fear with regard to you, in case they wish to commit a wrong. But as things are now, the other cities are elated by the quarrel between you; for you seem to have need of their assistance, and in fact you do have need of it because of your struggle with each other, and you are in the predicament of two men, both equally distinguished, when they become rivals over politics—of necessity they court the favour of everybody, even of those who are ever so far beneath them. And so while you are fighting for primacy, the chances are that the primacy really is in the hands of those who are courted by you. For it is impossible that people should not be thought to possess that which you expect to obtain from those same people. And so it is going to be absolutely necessary that the cities should resume their proper status, and, as is reasonable and right, that they should stand in need of you, not you of them. And applying this principle I shall expect you to behave toward them, not like tyrants, but with kindness and moderation, just as I suggested a little while ago,[1] to the end that your position as leaders may not be obnoxious to them, but that it may be not only leadership but a welcome thing as well.

Again, what need is there to discuss the present situation of your governors in the presence of you who are informed? Or is it possible you are not aware of the tyrannical power your own strife offers those who govern you? For at once whoever wishes to mistreat your people comes armed with the know-

σαντα αὐτὸν μὴ δοῦναι δίκην. ἣ γὰρ τῇ Νικαέων ἑταιρείᾳ προστίθεται καὶ τὸ μέρος τὸ ἐκείνων ἔχει βοηθοῦν ἢ τοὺς Νικομηδεῖς ἑλόμενος ὑφ' ὑμῶν σῴζεται. καὶ φιλεῖ μὲν οὐδετέρους, δοκεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἑτέρους φιλεῖν· ἀδικεῖ δὲ πάντας. ἀδικῶν δὲ σῴζεται διὰ τοὺς μόνους οἰομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φιλεῖ-
37 σθαι. κατεγνώκασι δὲ ὑμῶν ἄνοιαν δημοσίᾳ, καὶ χρῶνται καθάπερ τοῖς παιδίοις ὑμῖν, οἷς πολλάκις ἀντὶ τῶν μεγίστων προτείνεται τὰ μικρότατα· κἀκεῖνα διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς μεγάλων καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰ ἐλάχιστα ἡδονὴν χαίρει τῷ μηδενί· καὶ ὑμῖν οὕτως ἀντὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἀντὶ τοῦ μὴ συλᾶσθαι τὰς πόλεις μηδὲ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἰδίων, ἀντὶ τοῦ μὴ ὑβρίζειν αὐτοὺς εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἀντὶ τοῦ μὴ παροινεῖν, προτείνουσιν ὀνόματα καὶ ἢ εἶπον ὑμᾶς πρώτους ἢ ἔγραψαν· εἶτά εἰσιν ἀκίνδυνοι τὸ λοιπὸν ὑμῖν ὡς ἐσχάτοις χρώμενοι.

38 Τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα, ἐφ' οἷς μέγα φρονεῖτε, παρὰ πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς ὀρθῶς ἐννοουμένοις διαπτύεται, μάλιστα δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γέλωτα κινεῖ καὶ καλεῖται τὸ ἔτι ὑβριστικώτερον Ἑλληνικὰ ἁμαρτήματα. καὶ γὰρ ἔστιν ἁμαρτήματα, ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς, ἀληθῶς, ἀλλ' οὐχ Ἑλληνικά, εἰ μὴ κατ' αὐτὸ[1] τοῦτο Ἑλληνικὰ φήσει τις αὐτὰ εἶναι, καθ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι δόξης ἀντεποιήσαντό ποτε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. τὰ δὲ ἐκείνων εἶπον ἤδη

[1] κατ' αὐτὸ Reiske : καθ' αὐτό.

[1] I.e., the proconsuls of Bithynia, as becomes plain from the following sentence. Dio may have had in mind the case of Julius Bassus, proconsul in A.D. 98. However, no doubt others also were guilty of abuses.

ledge of what he must do to escape the penalty. For either he allies himself with the Nicaean party and has their group for his support, or else by choosing the party of Nicomedia he is protected by you. Moreover, while he has no love for either side, he appears to love one of the two; yet all the while he is wronging them all. Still, despite the wrongs he commits, he is protected by those who believe they alone are loved by him. Yet by their public acts they[1] have branded you as a pack of fools, yes, they treat you just like children, for we often offer children the most trivial things in place of things of greatest worth; moreover, those children, in their ignorance of what is truly valuable and in their pleasure over what is of least account, delight in what is a mere nothing. So also in your case, in place of justice, in place of the freedom of the cities from spoliation or from the seizure of the private possessions of their inhabitants, in place of their refraining from insulting you, in place of their refraining from drunken violence, your governors hand you titles, and call you "first" either by word of mouth or in writing: that done, they may thenceforth with impunity treat you as being the very last!

In truth such marks of distinction, on which you plume yourselves, not only are objects of utter contempt in the eyes of all persons of discernment, but especially in Rome they excite laughter and, what is still more humiliating, are called "Greek failings!" And failings they are indeed, men of Nicomedia, though not Greek, unless some one will claim that in this special particular they are Greek, namely, that those Greeks of old, both Athenians and Spartans, once laid counterclaims to glory. How-

που καὶ πρότερον ὅτι μὴ κενόδοξα ἦν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγών· εἰ μή τι νῦν δοκεῖτε αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς προπομπείας καλῶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι, καθάπερ ἐν μυστηρίῳ τινὶ παίζοντας ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίου πράγματος.

39 Ἂν δὲ τὸ μὲν τῆς μητροπόλεως ὑμῖν ὄνομα ἐξαίρετον ᾖ, τὸ δὲ τῶν πρωτείων κοινὸν ᾖ, τί κατὰ τοῦτο ἐλαττοῦσθε; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ τολμήσαιμι ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅτι κἂν πάντων ἐκστῆτε τῶν ὀνομάτων, οὐδενὸς ἐξίστασθε πράγματος. ἢ τί δοκεῖτε παρὰ τοῦτο; τὴν θάλατταν ἀναχωρήσειν ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἢ τὴν γῆν ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι μικροτέραν ἢ τὰς προσόδους ἐλάττονας; ἤδη ποτὲ θέας μετελάβετε; μᾶλλον δὲ μόνον οὐχὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν θεᾶσθε καὶ τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσοι δοκοῦσι μὲν ἡδονῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ τέρψεως εἰς τὰς σκηνὰς παριέναι, τοὺς δὲ αἰσθανομένους τῶν γιγνομένων ὠφελοῦσιν· ἆρ' οὖν ἐκεῖ τις ὑμῖν ἀληθῶς εἶναι δοκεῖ βασιλεὺς
40 ἢ τύραννος ἢ θεός; καίτοι ταῦτα πάντα καλοῦνται καὶ Μενέλαοι καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονες, καὶ οὐκ ὀνόματα μόνον ἔχουσι θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσωπα καὶ στολάς, καὶ κελεύουσι πολλά, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι· τοῦ δὲ ποιήματος συντελεσθέντος ἀπίασι τὸ μηδὲν ὄντες. ὀνομάζεσθαί[1] τις θέλει πρῶτος· ἔστω. πρωτεύει τις, κἂν ἄλλος ὀνομάζηται, πρῶτός ἐστιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα πίστεις τῶν πραγμάτων εἰσί, τὰ δὲ πράγματα καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων.

41 Ἔτι τοίνυν κἀκεῖνο λογίσασθε τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὁμονοίας

[1] ὀνομάζεσθαί Emperius: ὀνομάζεταί.

[1] Cf. § 25. [2] I.e., the loss of titles.

ever, I may have said already [1] that their doings were not mere vain conceit but a struggle for real empire—though nowadays you may fancy somehow that they were making a valiant struggle for the right to lead the procession, like persons in some mystic celebration putting up a sham battle over something not really theirs.

But if, while the title " metropolis " is your special prerogative, that of leader is shared with others, what do you lose thereby? For I would venture to assert that, even if you lose all your titles, you are losing nothing real. Or what do you expect to be the consequence of that? [2] That the sea will retreat from your shores, or your territory be smaller, or your revenues less? Have you ever yet been present at a play? More properly speaking, almost every day you behold not only tragic actors but the other sort too, the various actors who appear to come upon the scene to give pleasure and enjoyment, but who really benefit those who are sensitive to the action of the play. Well then, does any one in the cast appear to you to be really king or prince or god? And yet they are called by all these titles, as well as by the names Menelaüs and Agamemnon, and they have not only names of gods and heroes, but their features and robes as well, and they issue many orders, just as would the characters they represent; however, when the play is over, they take their departure as mere nonentities. A person wishes to be dubbed " first "; very good. Some one really is first, and no matter if another wears the title, first he is. For titles are not guarantees of facts, but facts of titles.

Well, here is another outcome of concord for you

γενησόμενον. νῦν μὲν ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἄνδρας ἔχετε· ἂν δὲ καταλλαγῆτε, τοὺς ἀλλήλων ἕξετε· καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας—δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τούτων πόλει—διπλασίας τίθεσθε[1] *καὶ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας. λέγειν τις δεινός ἐστι παρ' ὑμῖν· κἀκείνους ὠφελήσει. πλούσιός τις παρ' ἐκείνοις ἐστί· χορηγήσει καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν. καθόλου δὲ οὐδεὶς οὔτε ἀνάξιος ὢν τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἐν πόλει διὰ τοῦτο εὐδοκιμήσει παρ' ὑμῖν τῷ πρὸς ἐκείνους λέγειν ἢ παρ' ἐκείνοις τῷ πρὸς ὑμᾶς· οὔτε ἂν φαῦλός τις ὢν καὶ τοῦ δοῦναι δίκην ἄξιος εὑρεθῇ, διαδράσεται*[2] *τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀπαλλαγεὶς ἐν-*
42 *τεῦθεν ἐκεῖ, κἀκεῖθεν ἐνθάδε. τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον ὥσπερ ὑφορμεῖτε ἀλλήλαις αἱ πόλεις καὶ ἔστι τοῖς ἀδικήσασι τὴν ἑτέραν πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν καταφυγή. τῆς δὲ ὁμονοίας γενομένης ἀνάγκη καλοὺς εἶναι καὶ δικαίους ἄνδρας ἢ ἐκ τῆς Βιθυνίας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. μέγα φρονεῖτε τῇ τοῦ πλήθους ὑπερβολῇ· πλείους ἔσεσθε. γῆν*[3] *ἱκανὴν δοκεῖτε ἔχειν· πλείω τῆς ἱκανῆς ἕξετε. καθόλου πάντα μιχθέντα, καὶ καρποὶ καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀξίαι καὶ δυνάμεις, διπλάσια τὰ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις γίγνεται.*[4]

43 *Οὗ δὲ πάντα ἕνεκεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι πράττουσιν, ἡ ἡδονή, κρείττων λόγου. τὸ γὰρ τὰ μὲν ὀδυνῶντα ὑμᾶς ἐξαιρεθῆναι, καὶ φθόνον καὶ φιλονικίαν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τούτων γιγνομένην στάσιν καὶ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύειν ἀλλήλοις ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸ τοῖς κακοῖς ἐφήδεσθαι τοῖς τῶν πλησίον καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἄχθεσθαι,*

[1] *τίθεσθε* Emperius : *τίθεσθαι* UB, *τίθετε* M.
[2] *διαδράσεται* Emperius: *διαδρᾶσαι* M, *διαδράσῃ* UB.
[3] *γῆν* Casaubon : *τήν*.
[4] After *γίγνεται* Arnim deletes *καί*.

to take into account. At present you two cities have each your own men; but if you come to terms, you will each have the other's too: and as for honours—for a city needs these too—set them down as doubled, and likewise the services. Some one in your city is gifted as a speaker; he will aid the Nicaeans too. There is a rich man in Nicaea; he will defray public expenses in your city too. And in general, neither will any man who is unworthy of first place in a city achieve fame with you by assailing the Nicaeans, or with the Nicaeans by assailing you; nor, in case a man is found to be a low fellow and deserving of punishment, will he escape his just deserts by migrating from Nicomedia to Nicaea or from Nicaea to Nicomedia. Yet as things are now, you two cities, as it were, are lying in wait for each other at your moorings, and men who have wronged the one can find refuge with the other. But once concord is achieved, persons must be men of honour and justice or else get out of Bithynia. You are proud of your superiority in population: you will be still more populous. You think you have sufficient territory: you will have more than sufficient. In fine, when all resources have been united—crops, money, official dignities for men, and military forces—the resources of both cities are doubled.

Furthermore, that which is the aim of all human action, pleasure, becomes greater than tongue can tell. For to achieve, on the one hand, the elimination of the things which cause you pain—envy and rivalry and the strife which is their outcome, your plotting against one another, your gloating over the misfortunes of your neighbours, your vexation at their good fortune—and, on the other hand, the intro-

τὰ δὲ ἐναντία ἀντὶ τούτων εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰς πόλεις, κοινωνίαν ἀγαθῶν, ὁμοφροσύνην, ἐπὶ τοῖς[1] αὐτοῖς ἀμφοτέρων χαράν, οὐχὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἑορτῇ ἔοικε
44 δημοσίᾳ; λογίσασθε δὲ οὕτως. εἴ τις ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς, θεῶν αἵρεσιν ἔδωκεν, εἰ βούλεσθε μὴ μόνον τὴν αὑτῶν πόλιν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Νικαέων, οὐκ ἂν παράδοξον μὲν ὑπὸ μεγέθους ἐφάνη ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν, εὔξασθε δ' ἂν πάσας εὐχὰς ὥστε αὐτοῦ τυχεῖν; ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τὸ[2] παράδοξον δοκοῦν ἔξεστιν ἤδη γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν Νίκαιαν ὑμετέραν
45 εἶναι καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐκείνων. ἢ τῶν μὲν ἀδελφῶν θαυμάζομεν τοὺς εἰς ἅπαντα[3] κοινὸν οἰκοῦντας οἶκον καὶ μὴ νενεμημένους τὰ πατρῷα ὑπὸ μικρολογίας, ὅ τε πλοῦτος αὐτῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμάζεται, μείζων ὢν καὶ[4] κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, τῷ μὴ νενεμῆσθαι μηδὲ ἑκάστῳ τὸ ἥμισυ γεγονέναι τῶν πάντων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὅλον ἀμφοτέρων δοκεῖν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀγαθοὺς πάντες ἐκείνους ὁρῶσι καὶ ὡς δικαίους καὶ ὡς τῷ ὄντι ἀδελφούς· ἐν δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι γενομένη αὕτη ἡ ἀδελφότης οὐχὶ καὶ μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν ἔσται καὶ κάλλιον[5] καὶ πλουσιώτερον;

46 Ἄξιον δὲ αὐτὴν γενέσθαι καὶ διὰ τοὺς προγόνους κοινοὺς ὄντας ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ διὰ τοὺς θεούς, ὧν καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ὅμοιαί εἰσι τιμαί. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα ὀδυνηθείη τις ἄν, ὅτι πάντα κοινὰ ἔχοντες, καὶ προγόνους καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἔθη καὶ ἑορτάς, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ συγγενείας ἰδιωτικὰς καὶ φιλίας, ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες πρὸς βαρβάρους μαχόμεθα, ἢ τὸ ἔτι τού-

[1] ἐπὶ τοῖς Emperius : ἐπ'.
[2] τὸ added by Reiske.
[3] ἅπαντα Emperius : ἅπαν τὸν UM, ἅπαντας τὸν B.

duction into your cities of their opposites—sharing in things which are good, unity of heart and mind, rejoicing of both peoples in the same things—does not all this resemble a public festival? But figure it this way. If some god, men of Nicomedia, had given you the option of having not merely your own city, but also that of the Nicaeans, would not that have seemed to you a boon of incredible magnitude, and would you not have made all sorts of vows in the hope of obtaining it? Well, this thing which seems incredible can take place at once—Nicaea can be yours and your possessions theirs. Or, since we admire those brothers who share completely a common estate and have not because of stinginess divided their patrimony; whose wealth, moreover, is even more admired, since it is greater for the very reason that it has not been divided and half of everything made the property of each, but instead the whole is thought to belong to both; and whom, furthermore, all men regard as good and just and really brothers—since this is true, if this spirit of brotherhood is achieved in your cities, will it not be an even greater blessing, more beautiful and richer?

Moreover, it deserves to be achieved, not alone because of the ancestors which both cities have in common, but also because of the gods, whose rites are alike both in their city and in yours. For this is a fact which might cause one even greater sorrow, that though we have everything in common—ancestors, gods, customs, festivals, and, in the case of most of us, personal ties of blood and friendship, still we fight like Greeks against barbarians, or, what

[4] μείζων ὢν καὶ Crosby, καὶ μείζων δοκεῖ Reiske: μείζων καί. [5] κάλλιον Pflugk: καλόν.

του τῷ γιγνομένῳ[1] ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὁμοιότερον, ὥσπερ
47 ἄνθρωποι πρὸς θηρία. οὐκ ὄψεσθε εἰς ἀλλήλους;
οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε ἀλλήλων; οὐκ ἀντιδεξιώσονται, τὴν
ἀρχὴν ποιησαμένων ὑμῶν, ἀλλήλας αἱ πόλεις;
οὐχὶ πάντα τὰ παρὰ ἀμφοτέροις ἀγαθὰ κτήσεσθε
καταλλαγέντες; οὐ χρήσεσθε αὐτοῖς θέλοντες;
ὤφελον ἐξῆν καὶ τὸν Ἐφεσίων δῆμον ποιήσασθαι
ἀδελφὸν ὑμῶν. ὤφελον καὶ τὰ Σμυρναίων οἰκο-
48 δομήματα[2] κοινὰ ὑμῖν ἐγένετο. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τηλι-
καῦτα ὄντα ἀγαθὰ ἑνὸς ἕνεκα ὀνόματος ἀπόλλυτε,
ποίαν ὠφέλειαν, τίνα ἡδονήν;
Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν καὶ λυσιτελήσει ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ
καταλλαγὴ γενομένη καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὑμῖν οὐκ
ἐλυσιτέλησεν ἡ στάσις οὖσα καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἐκ
τῆς ὁμονοίας γενησόμενα καὶ τὰ κακὰ τὰ διὰ τὴν
49 ἔχθραν ὑπάρχοντα, προείρηταί μοι μετρίως. λοιπὸν
δὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ μενεῖ ταῦτα διαλλαγέντων ὑμῶν.
ἤδη γάρ τινές εἰσιν οἱ καὶ τοῦτο δεδοικότες, ὧν
ἀποδέχομαι τοῦ φόβου τὴν αἰτίαν, εἴ γε λέγουσιν
αὐτὸ[3] ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἐπιθυμοῦντες τῆς ὁμονοίας καὶ
φοβούμενοι μὴ λυθῇ καὶ οὐ τοὐναντίον αὐτοῦ χάριν
τοῦ μηδὲ ὅλως αὐτὴν γενέσθαι τοῦτο προβάλλονται.
Τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγιστον ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ πιστότατον
τοῦ μενεῖν[4] τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἐνέχυρον ἔστω τὸ συμφέ-
ρειν αὐτήν. ἃ γὰρ καὶ λόγῳ παραδειχθέντα διότι
συνοίσει μόνον ἤδη πείθειν ὑμᾶς ἔοικε, πῶς οὐ χρὴ

[1] τὸ ἔτι τούτου τῷ γιγνομένῳ Pflugk : τί ἔτι τούτων γιγνομένων.
[2] οἰκοδομήματα] Emperius deletes.
[3] αὐτὸ Emperius : αὐτοί.
[4] μενεῖν Arnim : μένειν.

is still more like your conduct than that, like human beings against wild beasts! Will you not look each other in the face? Will you not listen to each other? Will your two cities not clasp hands together, you being the first to extend your hand? Will you not by making peace acquire for yourselves all the good things both possess? Will you not enjoy them eagerly? Oh that it were possible for you to make even the Ephesians your brothers! Oh that the edifices of Smyrna too might have been shared by you! But all these things, mighty blessings that they are—are you forfeiting them for lack of one single word, gains so rich, pleasure so great?

However, that the reconciliation will be profitable to you two cities when it is achieved, and that the strife still going on has not been profitable for you down to the present moment, that so many blessings will be yours as a result of concord, and that so many evils now are yours because of enmity—all this has been treated by me at sufficient length. But it remains for me to add that these advantages will be permanent when you have made peace with one another. For already there are some who have fears on this score too, men whose reasons for fear I understand, at least if they give utterance to it from a genuine desire for concord and a fear that concord may be destroyed, and if they are not, instead, putting forth this idea for the very purpose of preventing any reconciliation at all.

Well, let the greatest and most trustworthy guarantee that your concord will be permanent be its expediency. For if the mere recital of the reasons which show that it will be advantageous apparently is already convincing you, why should not

50 τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ἕξειν αὐτὰ πειθὼ βεβαιοτέραν; ἔτι δὲ εὔθυμός εἰμι καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς συνηθείας ὑμᾶς δυσαπαλλάκτως ἔχειν. εἰ γὰρ ἡ στάσις τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ[1] διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν μόνον ἐμμεμένηκεν ὑμῖν, τηλικοῦτον οὖσα κακόν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς εἰκός ἐστιν ἡδίους τε οὔσας καὶ δικαιοτέρας ποιήσειν καὶ τὴν συνήθειαν πλείονα;[2] καὶ φυλάττεσθαι δὲ μικρὰ δεήσει καὶ πρὸ ἁπάντων τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀδόξους, ἄν ποτε διαβάλλωσιν ὑμᾶς ἀλλήλοις—μὴ γὰρ ἀκούσητε αὐτῶν ἴδιόν τι θηρωμένων, εἰ βουλήσονται πάλιν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι τινὰ χαράν—καὶ μικρῶν δὲ ἕνεκεν μὴ παροξύνεσθαι.

51 καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ εἰκός ἐστιν μᾶλλον πάντων ἐπιμελήσεσθαι τοῦ συμμεῖναι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν. οἶμαι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν παρ᾽ ἐκείνων γενέσθαι[3] καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἐπελθεῖν μοι τολμῆσαι περὶ τηλικούτου πράγματος ἐν ὑμῖν λέγειν, ὑπὲρ οὗ μηδεὶς πρότερον εἶπε μήτε νέος μήτε πρεσβύτερος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄξιον αὐτοῖς εὔξασθαι πάλιν. οὐκοῦν ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν εὐξάμην αὐτοῖς, ἵνα μοι πειθομένους παράσχωσιν ὑμᾶς· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη ἐοίκατε ποιεῖν, λοιπόν ἐστιν εὔξασθαι περὶ τοῦ φυλάττειν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀεὶ τὰ καλῶς δόξαντα ὑμῖν.

[1] τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ] τοσοῦτον χρόνον Arnim.
[2] πλείονα] ἡδίονα Wilamowitz.
[3] γενέσθαι Emperius: γενήσεσθαι.

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[1] Cf. § 4. [2] Cf. § 9.

these reasons when supported by experience have a persuasiveness even more unshakable? But what is more, I am hopeful also because of your being difficult to dislodge from accustomed habit. For instance, if strife, which is so great an evil, has remained among you so long merely through force of habit, why is it not reasonable to expect that your reconciliation, since it is more pleasant and more righteous, will make that habit also more potent? But you will need also to be watchful of little matters, and above all to be watchful of the men of no reputation, in case they ever malign you to each other—for you must not listen to them when they pursue some selfish purpose, in case they wish again to secure for themselves a kind of pleasure—and you will need also to avoid becoming irritated for petty reasons. A further reason for my optimism is that it is likely the gods will make it their prime concern that concord shall endure. In fact, I feel that even this beginning is due to them, and that otherwise it would not have occurred to me to dare to speak in your presence on so great a topic, a topic on which no one previously, whether old or young, has ever spoken.[1] And it is even fitting that I pray to them once more. You remember that in the beginning I prayed them to make you heed my words[2]; but now that you evidently are doing this already, it remains for me to pray that they may preserve for ever your admirable resolutions.

THE THIRTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: ON CONCORD IN NICAEA UPON THE CESSATION OF CIVIL STRIFE

As noted in the introduction to the preceding Discourse, Bithynia was a turbulent province. The present Discourse, as its title indicates, was delivered following a period of civil strife in Nicaea. Neither the occasion nor the date is known. Arnim would place the speech in the period following Dio's return from exile, but Schmid and Lemarchand would assign it to his sophistic period on stylistic grounds. The speaker's allusion to frail health would lend some support to the later dating.

The opening paragraphs are of special interest as an expression of that pride which the several communities of the province took in their Greek ancestry, but which unfortunately failed to knit them together to form a harmonious entity. Whatever may have been the ancestry of the inhabitants of this region, they were evidently eager to claim Greek blood and the patronage of Greek gods. Their pride of race may have been heightened because of their proximity to the world of the barbarian.

Ancient tradition is not united regarding the founding of Nicaea. On the evidence of its coinage, Dionysus would seem to have been claimed as founder and the name of the city to have been derived from the nymph Nicaea. Strabo (12. 565) mentions Antigonus as the original founder, adding that he called his settlement Antigoneia, but Strabo says that it was founded a second time by Lysimachus, who renamed it Nicaea in honour of his wife, the daughter of Antipater.

Stephanus of Byzantium calls it a colony of Bottiaea, which may be interpreted as referring its founding to veterans of Alexander's army. Whatever may have been the truth of the matter, at the time of our Discourse Nicaea could boast of a fair degree of antiquity.

39. ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΣ ΕΝ ΝΙΚΑΙΑΙ ΠΕΠΑΥΜΕΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ

1 Ἐγὼ χαίρω τιμώμενος ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν, ὥσπερ εἰκός ἐστι χαίρειν τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν σώφρονα τιμώμενον ὑπὸ πόλεως ἀγαθῆς καὶ λόγου ἀξίας, ὥσπερ ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις, κατά τε ἰσχὺν καὶ μέγεθος οὐδεμιᾶς ἡττωμένη τῶν ὁποίποτε ἐνδόξων γένους τε γενναιότητι καὶ πλήθους συνοικήσει, τῶν φανερωτάτων γενῶν οὐκ ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλων συνελθόντων φαύλων καὶ ὀλίγων, ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων τε τῶν πρώτων καὶ Μακεδόνων· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἥρωάς τε καὶ θεοὺς οἰκιστὰς λαβοῦσα.

2 Πρέπει δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ θεῶν ᾠκισμένοις εἰρήνη καὶ ὁμόνοια καὶ φιλία πρὸς αὑτούς. αἰσχρὸν γάρ, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα εὐδαίμονες[1] ἔσονται καὶ θεοφιλεῖς[2] καὶ διοίσουσί τι τῶν ἄλλων εὐτυχίᾳ,[3] βουλόμενοί γε ἀληθὲς ἐπιδεικνύειν τὸ τοῦ γένους, ἀλλὰ μὴ ψευδῆ καὶ μάταιον λόγον. θεοὶ γὰρ οἰκισταὶ καὶ συγ-

[1] εὐδαίμονες] αἰδήμονες Reiske.
[2] θεοφιλεῖς] θεοσεβεῖς Geel.
[3] εὐτυχίᾳ] εὐψυχίᾳ Geel.

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[1] The nature of the honour is unknown. Was it citizenship, as in the case of Nicomedia (Or. 38. 1)?
[2] Strictly speaking, only one "hero," Heracles, is named

THE THIRTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: ON CONCORD IN NICAEA UPON THE CESSATION OF CIVIL STRIFE

I AM delighted at being honoured[1] by you, as indeed it is to be expected that a man of sound judgement would be when honoured by a city which is noble and worthy of renown, as is the case with your city in regard to both power and grandeur, for it is inferior to no city of distinction anywhere, whether in nobility of lineage or in composition of population, comprising, as it does, the most illustrious families, not small groups of sorry specimens who came together from this place and from that, but the leaders among both Greeks and Macedonians, and, what is most significant, having had as founders both heroes[2] and gods.

But it is fitting that those whose city was founded by gods should maintain peace and concord and friendship toward one another. For it is disgraceful if they do not prove to be extremely lucky and blessed of heaven and to some extent superior to the others in good fortune, desiring, as they must, to show birth to be something real and not merely a sham and empty term. For founders, kinsmen,

in connexion with Nicaea, and that too only by Dio in this speech (§ 8). The plural is used for rhetorical effect.

γενεῖς καὶ προπάτορες οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐθέλουσι τοὺς αὑτῶν ἔχειν, οὔτε χώρας κάλλος οὔτε καρπῶν ἀφθονίαν οὔτε πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων, ὡς σωφροσύνην καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ πολιτείαν νόμιμον καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν πολιτῶν τιμήν, τῶν δὲ κακῶν ἀτιμίαν.
3 ὡς ἔγωγε ἥδομαι νῦν ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς ἓν μὲν σχῆμα ἔχοντας, μίαν δὲ φωνὴν ἀφιέντας, ταὐτὰ δὲ βουλομένους. ποῖον μὲν γὰρ θέαμα κάλλιον πόλεως ὁμοφρονούσης; ποῖον δὲ ἄκουσμα σεμνότερον; ποία μὲν[1] βουλεύεται πόλις ἄμεινον τῆς ἅμα βουλευομένης; ποία δὲ εὐμαρέστερον πράττει τῆς ἅμα πραττούσης; ποία δὲ ἧττον ἀποτυγχάνει τῆς ταὐτὰ βουλευομένης;[2] τίσι μὲν ἡδίω τἀγαθὰ τῶν ὁμονοούντων; τίσι δὲ κουφότερα τὰ λυπηρὰ τῶν κοινῇ φερόντων, ὥσπερ βάρος; τίσι δὲ σπανιώτερον συμβαίνει τὰ χαλεπὰ τῶν ἀλλήλους φυλατ-
4 τόντων; ποία μὲν τοῖς πολίταις προσφιλεστέρα πόλις; ποία δὲ τιμιωτέρα τοῖς ξένοις; ποία δὲ χρησιμωτέρα τοῖς φίλοις; τίς δὲ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς φοβερωτέρα; ὁ παρὰ τίνων μὲν ἔπαινος δοκεῖ πιστότερος, ὁ παρὰ τίνων δὲ ψόγος ἀληθέστερος;[3] τίνες μὲν ἰσοτιμότεροι τοῖς κρατοῦσιν; τίνας δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ κρατοῦντες αἰδοῦνται; τίνας μὲν οὕτως ἀγαπῶσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἄρχοντες; τίνων δὲ ἧττον καταφρονοῦσιν οἱ πονηροί; οὐ γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὁμονοοῦσιν οὐ μόνον οἱ κρατοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ θεοὶ προσέχουσιν, οἱ δὲ στασιάζοντες οὐδ' αὑτῶν ἀκούουσιν; οὔτε γὰρ τῶν ἀσυμφώνων χορῶν

[1] μὲν Wilamowitz : δέ.
[2] βουλευομένης] βουλομένης Cobet.
[3] After this sentence the MSS. read τίνες δὲ παρὰ τοῖς κρατοῦσι πλείονος αἰδοῦς τυγχάνουσι; which Emperius deletes,

and progenitors who are gods desire their own people to possess nothing—neither beauty of country nor abundance of crops nor multitude of inhabitants—so much as sobriety, virtue, orderly government, honour for the good citizens and dishonour for the base. Even as I myself rejoice at the present moment to find you wearing the same costume, speaking the same language, and desiring the same things. Indeed what spectacle is more enchanting than a city with singleness of purpose, and what sound is more awe-inspiring than its harmonious voice?[1] What city is wiser in council than that which takes council together? What city acts more smoothly than that which acts together? What city is less liable to failure than that which favours the same policies? To whom are blessings sweeter than to those who are of one heart and mind? To whom are afflictions lighter than to those who bear them together, like a heavy load? To whom do difficulties occur more rarely than to those who defend each other? What city is dearer to its people, more honoured by the stranger, more useful to its friends, more formidable to its foes? Whose praise is held more trustworthy, whose censure more truthful? Who are more nearly equal in honour to their rulers, and whom do the rulers more respect? Whom do good rulers so admire, and bad rulers less despise? Why, is it not manifest that not merely the rulers, but even the gods, pay heed to men who live in concord, while men who are torn by civil strife do not even hear one another? For no one readily hears the words

[1] Dio utters similar sentiments in Or. 32. 29.

as being a manifest variant of τίνας δὲ . . . αἰδοῦνται, which follows.

οὐδεὶς ἀκούει ῥᾳδίως ὅ τι λέγουσιν οὔτε τῶν διαφερομένων πόλεων.

5 Ποῖα δὲ οἰκοδομήματα, πόση δὲ χώρα, πόσον δὲ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυρότερον δῆμον ἀποφαίνει τῆς πρὸς αὑτὸν ὁμονοίας; ὁπόσοι γὰρ ἂν ὦσι πολῖται τῆς ὁμονοούσης πόλεως, τοσοῦτοι μὲν ὀφθαλμοὶ ὁρῶσι τὸ ἐκείνης συμφέρον, τοσαῦται δὲ ἀκοαὶ ἀκούουσι, τοσαῦται δὲ γλῶτται παραινοῦσι, τοσαῦται δὲ διάνοιαι φροντίζουσιν· διαφέρουσι γὰρ οὐδὲν ἢ εἴ τις θεῶν οὕτως μεγάλης καὶ πολυανθρώπου πόλεως μίαν ψυχὴν ἐποίησεν. ὡς οὔτε χρημάτων πλῆθος οὔτε ἀνθρώπων οὔτε ἄλλη δύναμις ξυνήνεγκε τοῖς διαφερομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον πάντα ταῦτα πρὸς βλάβης μᾶλλόν ἐστι καὶ ὅσῳ ἂν πλείονα ὑπάρχῃ, τοσούτῳ μείζονος καὶ χαλεπωτέρας· ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ τῶν σωμάτων τῷ μὲν ὑγιαίνοντι συμφέρει τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν σαρκῶν, τῷ δὲ νοσοῦντι καὶ φαύλως ἔχοντι σφαλερωτάτη ἐστὶν ἡ τοιαύτη ἕξις καὶ ὀξύτατον ἐπάγει

6 κίνδυνον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ναῦς ἥτις ἂν μετὰ ὁμονοίας πλέῃ τοῦ κυβερνήτου καὶ τῶν ναυτῶν, αὐτή τε σῴζεται καὶ σῴζει τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας· εἰ δὲ μή, ὅσῳ πλείω τὰ ἱστία, τοσούτῳ σφοδρότερον τὸν χειμῶνα καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν μείζω συμβαίνειν ἀνάγκη. τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπὶ ἅρματος· ἂν μὲν ὅ θ' ἡνίοχος ἄρχειν ἐπίστηται κατὰ τρόπον οἵ τε ἵπποι ὁμοφρονοῦντες καὶ πειθόμενοι ὦσιν, ἐλπίς ἐστιν ἐν μὲν ἀγῶνι νικᾶν, ἐν δὲ πολέμῳ σῴζεσθαι τὸ τοιοῦ-

[1] There is a strong resemblance between this and Or. 32. 2.

[2] For a similar illustration, cf. Or. 34. 22.

either when choruses do not keep together or when cities are at variance.

Again, what sort of edifices, what size of territory what magnitude of population render a community stronger than does its domestic concord? For example, when a city has concord, as many citizens as there are, so many are the eyes with which to see that city's interest, so many the ears with which to hear, so many the tongues to give advice, so many the minds concerned in its behalf; why, it is just as if some god had made a single soul for so great and populous a city.[1] Conversely, neither abundance of riches nor number of men nor any other element of strength is of advantage to those who are divided, but all these things are rather on the side of loss, and the more abundant they are, so much the greater and more grievous the loss. Just so too, methinks, it is with human bodies—that body which is in sound health finds advantage in its height and bulk, while the body which is diseased and in poor condition finds a physical state of that kind to be most perilous and productive of severest risk.[2] Similarly too any ship which sails the sea with concord existing between the skipper and his crew not only is safe itself but also maintains in safety those on board; otherwise the more numerous the sails so much the more violent must be the impact of the storm and so much greater the confusion.[3] This same thing is true in the case of a chariot—if the driver knows how to exercise proper control, and if at the same time the horses are not only in agreement with one another but also obedient to the driver, there is hope that in a race such a chariot will win the prize and

[3] This illustration is found also in Or. 34. 16 and 38. 14.

τον ἅρμα· στάσεως δὲ καὶ ταραχῆς ἐνούσης, τοσούτῳ μείζων ὁ κίνδυνος, ὅσῳ ἂν ἰσχυρότεροι ὦσιν
7 οἱ ἵπποι καὶ ταχύτεροι. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ πόλει ὁμονοούσῃ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα χρήσιμά ἐστι, περιουσία χρημάτων καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δόξα καὶ δύναμις· εἰ δὲ μή, δύσχρηστα καὶ χαλεπά, οἷον ἐν ταὐτῷ τρεφομένων[1] θηρίων πολλῶν ἢ βοσκημάτων, ἑνὸς εἴργοντος περιβόλου, κυριττόντων τε ἄλληλα καὶ πατούντων καὶ ἐπεμβαινόντων ἀλλήλοις.

Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὑγιαίνων ἐτύγχανον, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέστην τοῦ λόγου, πρὶν ἱκανῶς αὐτὸν διελθεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δύναμιν· νῦν δὲ ὑμεῖς τε ἴσως πρὸς ἑτέροις μᾶλλόν ἐστε[2] κἀγὼ πολὺ καταδεέστερον ἔχω ἢ
8 πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἀγῶνος. τὸν οὖν βραχύτατον καὶ ἀνυσιμώτατον λόγον καταλείπεται εἰπεῖν τὸν πρὸς τοὺς θεούς. οὗτοι γὰρ καὶ τῶν μικρὸν φθεγγομένων ἃ διανοοῦνται ἴσασιν. ἴσως γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ σφόδρα εὐνοοῦντός ἐστιν· ὥσπερ οἱ χρηστοὶ πατέρες τοῖς παισὶν ἃ μὲν δύνανται παραινοῦσιν, ἃ δ' ἂν μὴ πείθωσιν, εὔχονται τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. εὔχομαι δὴ τῷ τε Διονύσῳ τῷ προπάτορι τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ κτίσαντι τήνδε τὴν πόλιν καὶ Διὶ Πολιεῖ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ Φιλίᾳ καὶ Ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ Νεμέσει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις

[1] τρεφομένων Casaubon : στρεφομένων.
[2] μᾶλλόν ἐστε Casaubon : ἐστὲ μᾶλλον ὥστε UB, μᾶλλον ὥστε M.

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[1] Cf. Or. 38. 15 for the chariot illustration. The similarity of the illustrations employed in this speech to those just cited as parallel may be ascribed to similarity of subject.

in a war emerge in safety; but on the other hand, if strife and confusion are present, the danger increases in proportion to the strength and speed of the horses.[1] In much the same way also when a city enjoys concord, all such things are useful—abundance of riches, size of population, honours, fame, and power; but otherwise they are hard to use well and vexatious, just as when, for example, many wild animals or cattle are kept in the same enclosure, penned within a single stockade, they go butting and trampling and leaping upon one another.

Well now, if I were blessed with robust health, I should not have abandoned my theme before discussing it adequately to the best of my ability; but as it is, not only are you perhaps more intent upon other matters, but I myself am far too frail to match the importance of the occasion. Therefore, all that remains for me to do is to make the briefest and most efficacious appeal, I mean the appeal to the gods. For the gods know what men mean to say even when they speak in whispers. After all, possibly this too is typical of one who is especially well-intentioned; for instance, good fathers use admonition with their children where they can, but where persuasion fails they pray the gods on their behalf. Accordingly I pray to Dionysus the progenitor of this city, to Heracles its founder, to Zeus Guardian of Cities, to Athena, to Aphroditê Fosterer of Friendship, to Harmony, and Nemesis,[2] and all

[2] The list of deities worshipped at Nicaea, as attested by coins and inscriptions, is a long one and, as was natural, includes some of non-Greek provenience. Dio fittingly appeals only to the Greek gods on this occasion and, among them, only to such as might reasonably be expected to heed his prayer.

θεοῖς ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας τῇδε τῇ πόλει πόθον ἑαυτῆς ἐμβαλεῖν καὶ ἔρωτα καὶ μίαν γνώμην καὶ ταὐτὰ βούλεσθαι καὶ φρονεῖν, στάσιν δὲ καὶ ἔριδα καὶ φιλονικίαν ἐκβαλεῖν, ὡς ἂν ἐν ταῖς εὐδαιμονεστάταις καὶ ἀρίσταις ᾖ πόλεσι τὸ λοιπόν.

the other gods, that from this day forth they may implant in this city a yearning for itself, a passionate love, a singleness of purpose, a unity of wish and thought; and, on the other hand, that they may cast out strife and contentiousness and jealousy, so that this city may be numbered among the most prosperous and the noblest for all time to come.

THE FORTIETH DISCOURSE: DELIVERED IN HIS NATIVE CITY ON CONCORD WITH THE APAMEIANS

As indicated by the title, the background of this Discourse is a quarrel between Prusa, the home of the speaker, and its near neighbour, Apameia. The precise nature of the quarrel remains in doubt, but it seems to have involved business relations, and possibly also property rights. The relations between the two cities were extremely intimate. Prusa used the port of Apameia, and Apameia looked to Prusa for its timber. There was constant intercourse of many kinds between the two, and citizens of the one not infrequently were citizens also of the other, sometimes even receiving a seat and vote in the Council of the second city. Dio's own connexion with Apameia was especially close. As we learn from Or. 41, not only had he himself been honoured with citizenship there, but also his father before him; his mother and her father too had been awarded citizenship in Apameia along with the grant of Roman citizenship; and, finally, it would appear that Dio's household had found a refuge in that city during his exile.

Whatever the nature of the quarrel, it had lasted for some time prior to the date of our Discourse (A.D. 101), and it had been so bitter that Dio had feared to accept the invitation of Apameia to pay a visit there upon his return from exile, lest by doing so he might offend the city of his birth, and for the same reason he had resisted a request to intervene in behalf of Apameia in its quarrel. He had, to be sure, urged upon his fellow citizens, as occasion offered, the desirability of reconciliation with Apameia, and negotiations to that end were

actually in progress when Dio, responding with some reluctance to the summons of his fellow townsmen, appeared in town-meeting and pleaded afresh the cause of concord. It would appear that his words received a favourable hearing, for in the next Discourse in our collection, delivered at Apameia shortly afterwards, he speaks as a member of an official delegation to arrange terms of agreement.

This Discourse, as well as several to follow, is valuable both as shedding light upon doings in Bithynia, doings about which we get supplementary information from the correspondence of Pliny the Younger written during his term as proconsul of that province, and also as supplying biographical data regarding the speaker.

40. ΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΠΑΜΕΙΣ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΣ

1 Ἐνόμιζον μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες πολῖται, νῦν γοῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, ἄξειν τὴν ἅπασαν ἡσυχίαν, δεῦρο ἀφικόμενος, καὶ μὴ προσάψεσθαι[1] μήτε ἑκὼν μήτε ἄκων μηδενὸς κοινοῦ πράγματος, δι' ἓν μὲν ὅτι καὶ πολλοὺς ὁρῶ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀεὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων βουλομένους καὶ δυναμένους ἐπιτροπεύειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ προΐστασθαι τῶν ὑμετέρων ὀρθῶς οὔτε τοῦ λέγειν οὔτε τοῦ πράττειν ἐνδεῶς ἔχοντας, ἔτι δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν πολιτείας ἐμπείρους ὄντας, ἐμὲ δὲ ὑπώπτευον—τὸ γὰρ ἀληθὲς εἰρήσεται—βαρύνεσθαί τινας ὡς ξένον καὶ
2 περιττόν· ἔπειτα, οἶμαι, καὶ τοῦ σώματος δέον ποιήσασθαί τινα πρόνοιαν, ἐκ πολλῆς καὶ συνεχοῦς ταλαιπωρίας ἀπειρηκότος, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, κομιδῇ φαύλως διακειμένων, ἃ τοσοῦτον ἀπολωλότα χρόνον οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπανορθώσεως τετύχηκεν.

[1] προσάψεσθαι Emperius: προσάψασθαι.

[1] He had recently returned from Rome. Prior to that visit, ever since his return from exile in A.D. 96, he had been occupied with public business, notably the building operations to which he refers in his opening paragraphs, with which cf. Or. 45.

THE FORTIETH DISCOURSE: DELIVERED IN HIS NATIVE CITY ON CONCORD WITH THE APAMEIANS

I USED to think, fellow citizens, that now at least, if not before—now that I am home again—I could look forward to enjoying complete leisure, and that I was not going to engage in any public business, either voluntarily or otherwise.[1] One reason was because I see that many older men, by the grace of God, and many younger men as well, are ever ready and able to direct the city and to defend your interests rightly, being deficient in neither speech nor action, and what is more, being thoroughly acquainted with your form of government, while, on the other hand, I suspected—for the truth will out—that some were vexed with me as being an outsider and a nuisance.[2] A second reason is that, in my opinion, I should take some thought, not only for my body, exhausted as it is from great and unremitting hardship, but also for my domestic affairs, now in thoroughly bad condition, affairs which, though so long in ruinous state, have met with no improve-

[2] His long exile made him seem to some to be an outsider, and his energetic efforts to improve Prusa were accordingly resented.

ὅπου γὰρ ἀποδημία δεσπότου χρονίσαντος ἱκανὴ διαφθεῖραι καὶ τὴν μεγίστην οὐσίαν, τί χρὴ προσδοκᾶν ἐν τοσούτοις ἔτεσι φυγῆς; ὅθεν οὐδεὶς ἂν προσεδόκησεν ἐμὲ σωθῆναι χωρὶς ὑμῶν, δι' εὐνοίας ὑπερβολήν. καίτοι μέχρι μὲν ὑπῆρχε πενίας κίνδυνος ἡμῖν, οὐδὲν ἦν δεινόν. οὐ γάρ εἰμι πρὸς τοῦτο ἀμελέτητος σχεδόν, τοσοῦτον χρόνον πλανηθεὶς οὐ μόνον ἄοικος καὶ ἀνέστιος, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀκόλουθον ἕνα γοῦν ἐπαγόμενος. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν ἤλπιζον χαλεπῶς ἂν ὑπομεῖναι πενίαν, οὐκ ὄντα ἐμοῦ χείρω τὴν φύσιν.

3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ψεύσασθαι τὴν πατρίδα μηδὲ ἀποστερῆσαι τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ὑμᾶς ἣν ὑπεσχόμεθα μηδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος, οὐδαμῶς ῥᾳδίαν οὐδὲ ὀλίγων χρημάτων, τοῦτο οἶμαι χαλεπὸν καὶ πολλῆς φροντίδος ἄξιον· οὐ γάρ[1] οὐδέν ἐστι βαρύτερον οὐδὲ ὀφειλόμενον ἐπὶ πλείονι τόκῳ χάριτος.[2] καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἀναίσχυντον δάνειον καὶ πικρόν, ὅταν, οἶμαι, τῷ βραδύνειν ἡ χάρις εἰς χρέος μεταστῇ· ὃ τῷ παντὶ χαλεπώτερον ἀπαιτοῦσιν
4 οἱ σιωπῶντες τῶν βοώντων. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω δύναται τοὺς ὀφείλοντας ὑμῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπομιμνήσκειν, ὡς τὸ ὑμᾶς ἐκλελῆσθαι. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀναγκαῖον ἐνόμιζον γενέσθαι πρὸς τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν κοινῶν προσιέναι μηδὲ μέχρι λόγου

[1] οὐ γὰρ with M] οὔ γε.
[2] χάριτος] deleted by Von der Muehll, reading οὔ γε *supra*.

[1] He had subscribed toward the embellishment of Prusa.

ment. For when a proprietor's absence from home, if protracted, suffices to ruin even the greatest estate, what should one expect in the course of so many years of exile? From such an exile no one could have expected me to come home safe except yourselves—because of your extreme partiality for me. And yet as long as poverty was the only risk confronting me, that was nothing to be afraid of. For I am not unprepared, I may say, to cope with that, having wandered so long, not only without hearth and home, but even without a single servant to bear me company. Furthermore, I did not expect my son to find poverty a grievous thing to bear either, since his nature is not inferior to my own.

But since the question before us concerns my not proving false toward my native land and not defrauding you of the promise I made under no compulsion, a promise by no means easy to make good and involving no small outlay of money, this I conceive to be a difficult matter and one calling for much serious cogitation.[1] For there is nothing more weighty, no debt bearing higher interest, than a favour promised. Moreover, this is the shameful and bitter kind of loan, when, as one might say, because of tardy payment the favour turns into an obligation, an obligation the settlement of which those who keep silent demand altogether more sternly than those who cry aloud. For nothing has such power to remind those who owe you such obligations as your having utterly forgotten them. For these reasons, therefore, I felt it had become necessary for me to devote myself to my own affairs and not to any

but, like some others of whom we hear, he had not yet redeemed his promise.

τέως, ἕως ἂν αἴσθωμαι[1] τοῦτο δὴ τὸ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ λεγόμενον·

> ὅ ττι μοι ἐν μεγάροισι κακόν τ' ἀγαθόν τε
> τέτυκται.

5 Πρότερον γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον σχολὴν ἤγαγον ἴσως διὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πολυπραγμοσύνην, ὃς[2] δέον ἐντυχεῖν ὑμῖν καὶ φιλοφρονήσασθαι τοσοῦτο μόνον καὶ θῦσαι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ νὴ Δία ἀναγνῶναι τὰ γράμματα τὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, ἔπειτα εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῆσαι καὶ τρέπεσθαι καθ' αὑτόν, λόγον τινὰ εἶπον ὑπὲρ ἔργου τινός, οὐκ αὐτὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ[3] τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐσπουδακότων, ἴσως μὲν ὑμῖν, ἴσως δὲ κἀμοὶ χαρίζεσθαι βουλομένων[4] καὶ[5] τὴν πόλιν ἄμεινον κατασκευάζειν καὶ σεμνοτέραν ποιεῖν ἅπασαν. πρότερον γὰρ ἴστε δήπουθεν ὅτι τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων ἐλειπόμεθα.

6 Τοῦτον ἐμοῦ τότε εἰπόντος τὸν λόγον, ἐπήρθη τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος· οὐ γάρ ἐστε ἀγεννεῖς οὐδὲ ἀναίσθητοι τὰς φύσεις· καὶ πολλοὶ προετράπησαν φιλοτιμηθῆναι τῶν πολιτῶν. πάλιν δὲ ὕστερον ἐμοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιουμένου πολλάκις μὲν

[1] αἴσθωμαι Emperius: αἰσθήσωμαι or αἰσθήσομαι.
[2] ὃς Selden: ὡς.
[3] καὶ added by Reiske.
[4] βουλομένων Morel: βουλόμενον.
[5] καὶ] deleted by Emperius.

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[1] Source unknown, evidently some epic poem.
[2] The occasion was doubtless his return from exile. The letter from the Emperor is thought by Arnim to have been a

public business, not even to the extent of making a speech, until, as the poet says, I shall perceive

What ill or good has happened in my halls.[1]

The fact is that hitherto I had not had even a moment's leisure, possibly because of my own officiousness, since, when I ought merely to have met you and given you friendly greetings and sacrificed to the gods, and. of course, read the letter from the Emperor, since that was a matter of necessity, and then to have retired immediately and turned to my own affairs,[2] instead I made a speech in behalf of a certain undertaking,[3] not on my own responsibility alone, but with the backing of the proconsuls as well, who possibly were minded to do you a favour, and perhaps me as well. and also to put the city into better shape and make it more impressive as a whole.[4] For formerly, as you doubtless are aware, we were behind even our neighbours in such matters.

Well, when I made that speech on the occasion referred to, not only was the Assembly aroused with enthusiasm for it—for you are not illiberal or insensible in your nature—but also many of the citizens were even moved to patriotic fervour in its support. And again, when later on I repeatedly laid the matter before you, now in the council chamber and now

letter from Nerva and identical with the letter he is about to read at the close of Or. 44.

[3] Probably the vagueness of Dio's language in referring to his pet project was due to the unpopularity which it had brought him in certain quarters. He seems to have shown more zeal than discretion.

[4] Cf. Or. 47. 13. Pliny's correspondence with Trajan shows how keen was the interest of both in the financial stability of Bithynia, though both were glad to sponsor physical improvements.

ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, πολλάκις δ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἵνα, εἰ μὴ δοκιμάζοιτε μηδὲ βούλοισθε, μηδένα ἐνοχλῶ—τὴν γὰρ ἀσχολίαν τὴν ἐσομένην ὑπώπτευόν μοι περὶ ταῦτα—πολλάκις μὲν ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐκυρώθη, πολλάκις δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, οὐδενὸς ἀντειπόντος.

7 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν, ὅσα μὲν αὐτὸς ἔπαθον μετρῶν καὶ διαμετρῶν καὶ λογιζόμενος, ὅπως μὴ γένοιτο ἀπρεπὲς μηδὲ ἀχρεῖον, ὁποῖα ἔργα πολλὰ γέγονε παρ' ἑτέροις μάτην ἀπολόμενα, καὶ τελευταῖον εἰς τὰ ὄρη φθειρόμενος, οὐκ ὢν ἔμπειρος τῶν τοιούτων οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ ἀπορῶν ἔργου τινός, ἀλλ' ἕτερα μᾶλλον πράττειν δυνάμενος, σπουδαιότερα ἴσως, ἀφ' ὧν οὐ παρὰ μόνοις ὑμῖν εὐδοκιμεῖν ἔμελλον, ἐῶ νῦν ἐπεξιέναι. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ἐμοὶ βαρὺ δι' ὑμᾶς ὑπομένοντι.

8 Λόγοι δὲ ἐγίγνοντο πολλοὶ μέν, οὐ παρὰ πολλῶν δέ, καὶ σφόδρα ἀηδεῖς, ὡς κατασκάπτω τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἀνάστατον πεποίηκα σχεδὸν ἐξελαύνων τοὺς πολίτας, ὡς ἀνῄρηται πάντα, συγκέχυται, λοιπὸν οὐδέν ἐστιν. καί τινες ἦσαν οἱ σφόδρα ὀδυρόμενοι τὸ χαλκεῖον τὸ τοῦ δεῖνος, χαλεπῶς ἔχοντες, εἰ μὴ μενεῖ ταῦτα τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐδαιμονίας, ὥσπερ τῶν Ἀθήνησι Προπυλαίων κινουμένων ἢ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ἢ τὸ Σαμίων Ἥραιον ἡμᾶς ἀνατρέποντας ἢ τὸ Μιλησίων Διδύμειον[1] ἢ

[1] Διδύμειον Reiske : διδύμιον.

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[1] Popular assemblies often were held in theatres.

[2] Probably for the purpose of selecting building material and allotting contracts.

[3] On the subject of the smithy in question, cf. also Or. 47. 11.

in the theatre,[1] to make sure that I should not offend anyone in case you did not approve or desire the project—for I had my misgivings as to the hard work which would be connected with the enterprise—the proposal was repeatedly sanctioned by you and by the proconsuls too with not a dissenting voice.

However, when the work was started, all the trouble to which I myself was put in taking measurements and allotting space and making computations, to insure that the project should not be unbecoming or useless—as in other cities many public works have been ruined for lack of planning—and finally in making a cursed excursion to the mountains,[2] though I was not at all experienced in such matters and did not lack for something to do either, but might rather have occupied myself with other activities, possibly more important, from which I was likely to enjoy renown with others besides yourselves—all this I now refrain from narrating in detail; for nothing was too burdensome for me, seeing that I bore it for your sake.

But there was a lot of talk—though not on the part of many persons—and very unpleasant talk too, to the effect that I am dismantling the city; that I have laid it waste, virtually banishing the inhabitants; that everything has been destroyed, obliterated, nothing left. And there were some who were violent in their lamentations over the smithy of So-and-so,[3] feeling bitter that these memorials of the good old days were not to be preserved. One might have supposed that the Propylaea at Athens were being tampered with, or the Parthenon, or that we were wrecking the Heraeum of the Samians, or the Didymeium of the Milesians, or the temple of

9 τὸν νεὼν τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ αἰσχρὰ καὶ καταγέλαστα ἐρείπια, πολὺ ταπεινότερα τῶν κλισίων, οἷς ὑποδύεται τὰ πρόβατα, τῶν ποιμένων δὲ οὐδεὶς ἂν δύναιτο εἰσελθεῖν οὐδὲ τῶν γενναιοτέρων κυνῶν· ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὑμεῖς μὲν ἠρυθριᾶτε, νὴ Δία[1] διετρέπεσθε τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰσιόντων, οἱ δὲ ἀηδῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπέχαιρον καὶ ἐγέλων—ὅπου μηδὲ τοῖς χαλκεῦσιν ἐξῆν διάρασθαι σχεδόν, ἀλλὰ εἰργάζοντο κεκυφότες· καὶ ταῦτα πίπτοντα καὶ ὑπερηρεισμένα, ἃ πρὸς τὴν πληγὴν τοῦ ῥαιστῆρος ἔτρεμε καὶ διίστατο· ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως ἦσαν οἳ χαλεπῶς ἑώρων ἀφανιζόμενα τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἔμπροσθεν πενίας καὶ ἀδοξίας, οὐχ ὅτι[2] τῶν κιόνων ἔμελεν[3] αὐτοῖς τῶν ἱσταμένων οὐδὲ τῶν γείσων, οὐ τῶν οἰκοδομουμένων ἐργαστηρίων ἄλλοσε,[4] ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα μηδέποτε μεῖζον ὑμεῖς ἐκείνων φρονῆτε.

10 Εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι καὶ τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασι καὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ τῷ δικάζειν αὐτοὶ καὶ τῷ μὴ παρ᾽ ἑτέροις ἐξετάζεσθαι μηδὲ συντελεῖν ἄλλοις[5] καθάπερ, οἶμαι, κώμην, πᾶσι τούτοις συναίρεσθαι πέ-

[1] νὴ Δία added by Capps, καὶ Emperius.
[2] After οὐχ ὅτι Arnim suspects a lacuna.
[3] ἔμελεν Reiske : ἔμελλεν. [4] ἄλλοσε Emperius : ἄλλως.
[5] ἄλλοις Valesius : ἀλλήλοις.

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[1] The terseness of Dio's words testifies to the grandeur of these edifices and also suggests that citizens of Prusa were acquainted with them. To-day a single column of the shrine of Hera towers aloft amid blackberry vines and stagnant water, while of the famous temple of Artemis only the stump of one column is visible above the pool that covers the excavated area.

[2] Apparently the proconsuls made a thorough inspection of the cities under their jurisdiction.

Artemis at Ephesus,[1] instead of disgraceful, ridiculous ruins, much more lowly than the sheds under which the flocks take shelter, but which no shepherd could enter nor any of the nobler breeds of dogs, structures that used to make you blush, aye, be utterly confounded when the proconsuls essayed to enter,[2] while men who bore you malice would gloat over you and laugh at your discomfiture—hovels where even the blacksmiths were scarcely able to stand erect but worked with bowed head; shanties, moreover, in tumbledown condition, held up by props, so that at the stroke of the hammer they quivered and threatened to fall apart. And yet there were some who were distressed to see the signs of their former poverty and ill-repute disappearing, who, far from being interested in the columns which were rising, or in the eaves of the roof,[3] or in the shops under construction in a different quarter,[4] were interested only in preventing your ever feeling superior to that crew.

For, let me assure you, buildings and festivals and independence in the administration of justice and exemption from standing trial away from home or from being grouped together with other communities like some village,[5] if you will pardon the expression —all these things, I say, make it natural for the

[3] On the colonnade, which formed the centre of Dio's scheme for embellishing Prusa, cf. Or. 47. 17 and 19-20.

[4] The shops, including the smithy, had made way for the colonnade and were being re-erected where they would not interfere with public buildings.

[5] On the *synteleia*, cf. Or. 38. 26. The right to hold court served not only as evidence of rank and worth but also as an important source of revenue (Or. 35. 15). Dio's emphasis upon that subject, both here and in § 33, suggests that Prusa had lately gained that right.

φυκε τὸ φρόνημα τῶν πόλεων καὶ μεῖζον ἀξίωμα γίγνεσθαι τὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ πλέονος τυγχάνειν τιμῆς καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιδημούντων ξένων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων. ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαπῶσι τὰς αὑτῶν πατρίδας καὶ μὴ φοβουμένοις μήποτε ἐλάττους αὐτῶν φανῶσι θαυμαστὴν ἔχει τὴν ἡδονήν· τοῖς δὲ ἐναντίως ἔχουσι καὶ βουλομένοις ἐν ἀσθενέσιν ἰσχύειν καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς πόλεως ἀδοξίαν αὑτῶν νομίζουσι δέοντως φέρει λύπην[1] καὶ φθόνον.

11 καίτοι τὸ μὲν ὑπόδημα δεῖ πρὸς αὑτὸν ἁρμόττειν καὶ τὸν αὑτοῦ πόδα, καὶ ἂν δοκῇ μεῖζον, περιτεμεῖν· πόλιν δὲ οὐδέποτε δεῖ κολούειν οὐδὲ κατάγειν πρὸς αὑτὸν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν μετρεῖν, ἐὰν τύχῃ σμικρὰν ἔχων καὶ ἀνελεύθερον, καὶ ταῦτα παραδειγμάτων ὄντων· λέγω δὲ τὸ τῶν Σμυρναίων, τὸ τῶν Ἐφεσίων, Ταρσεῖς ἐκείνους, Ἀντιοχέας.

Καὶ ταῦτα ἐπίσταμαι σαφῶς ὅτι καὶ πρότερόν τινες ἀκούοντες διερρήγνυντο καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, εἰ τοιούτων ἐθίζεσθε ἀκροᾶσθαι λόγων καὶ μετὰ τοιούτων πόλεων τολμᾷ τις ὀνομάζειν τὴν ὑμε-
12 τέραν. ὅμως[2] δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις σχετλιάζοντες καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγοντες καὶ διδόναι μηδένα ἐῶντες καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐμποδὼν γιγνόμενοι, οὕτως ἐμὲ διέθηκαν, ὥστε ὀλίγου φυγὴν ἐμαυτοῦ καταψηφίσασθαι.

[1] λύπην Wilamowitz : αὐτήν. [2] ὅμως Casaubon : ὅπως.

[1] Public works seem to have been characteristic of all Asia Minor at this period and to have aroused rivalry between one city and another. The four cities here named were selected for their eminence as well as for their prominence in civic improvements. Cf. Or. 38. 47 and 47. 16. The pronoun applied to the Tarsians suggests some special undertaking in that city. Cf. Or. 33. 23 and 28.

pride of the cities to be enhanced and the dignity of the community to be increased and for it to receive fuller honour both from the strangers within their gates and from the proconsuls as well. But while these things possess a wondrous degree of pleasure for those who love the city of their birth and are not afraid lest some day they may be found to be not good enough for it, to those who take the opposite stand and wish to wield authority over weak men and who deem the glory of the city to be their own ignominy, these things necessarily bring pain and jealousy. And yet, while it is true that the shoe must fit the wearer and his own special foot, and if the shoe is judged to be too large it must be trimmed down, one must never curtail a city or reduce it to one's own dimensions or measure it with regard to one's own spirit, if one happens to have a small and servile spirit, particularly in the light of existing precedents—I mean the activities of the men of Smyrna, of the men of Ephesus, of those men of Tarsus, of the men of Antioch.[1]

Again, I know perfectly that on former occasions too certain persons were ready to burst with rage on hearing me talk this way and were incensed that you were growing accustomed to listening to such words, and that any one should presume to name your city in company with such distinguished cities.[2] But still, because of their angry protests at these proceedings, because of the things they say, because of their attempts to prevent any one's making a contribution, and because of their efforts to block operations, they have put me into such a frame of mind as almost to condemn myself to voluntary exile. For

[2] The conservatives regarded such comparisons as unfair.

καὶ γὰρ ἦν γελοῖον μετὰ φυγὴν οὕτως μακρὰν καὶ πράγματα τοσαῦτα καὶ τύραννον ἐχθρὸν δεῦρο ἀφικόμενον,[1] ὥστε ἀναπαύσασθαι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῶν πρότερον χαλεπῶν, οἷον ἐκ δεινοῦ καὶ ἀγρίου πελάγους καὶ χειμῶνος ἀδοκήτως σωθέντα[2] μόλις δι' εὔνοιαν θεοῦ τινος, ἔπειτα ἐνταῦθα ὥσπερ ἐν λιμένι ναυαγεῖν.

13 Θαυμάζω δὲ μάλιστα ἐνίων ἀνθρώπων τὴν κακοήθειαν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἄνοιαν, ὑπομιμνησκόμενος οἷα ἐλογοποίουν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας ἣν ἐπέμψατε εὐχαριστοῦντες. οὐ γὰρ ἡδέως αὐτὸν ἀποδέξασθαι τοὺς πρέσβεις, ἀλλὰ δυσχερᾶναι μᾶλλον, ὡς δέον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης ἀπηντηκέναι καὶ περιβαλεῖν τοὺς ἥκοντας[3] ἢ τοὺς μηδέπω παρόντας ὀνομάζειν ἢ πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ τοῦδε καὶ τοῦδε,

14 τί πράττουσιν ἢ διὰ τί πάντες οὐκ ἦλθον. οἱ δὲ ἐλογοποίουν ὅτι τοῖς Σμυρναίοις παμπόλλας δωρεὰς δοίη καὶ χρήματα ἀμύθητα πέμψειε μετὰ τῶν Νεμέσεων, καὶ νὴ Δί' ὡς ἄλλου τινὸς διαλεχθέντος μυρίους μὲν αὐτῷ συνεχώρησε βουλευτάς, χρυσίου δ' ἐκέλευσε ποταμὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τραπῆναι καὶ

[1] ἀφικόμενον Reiske : ἀφικομένῳ.
[2] ἀδοκήτως σωθέντα Reiske : ἀδοκήτους ὡς θέντα M, ἀδοκήτου ὡς θέντα B, ἀδοκήτου ὡσθέντα UT.
[3] τοὺς ἥκοντας Emperius : προσήκοντας.

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[1] I.e., Domitian.
[2] Upon the occasion of Trajan's becoming Emperor, A.D. 98.
[3] I.e., Trajan.
[4] Smyrna was noteworthy for worshipping two Nemeseis instead of one. These deities were held to have inspired

it really was ridiculous if, after having experienced so long an exile, so many tribulations, and so tyrannical a foe,[1] after reaching home at last with the hope of finding respite and of being able to forget past hardships from then on—like a man who had through the kindness of some god unexpectedly and with difficulty been rescued from a dreadful, savage sea and tempest—I should then in port, so to speak, meet shipwreck here.

But I am especially amazed at the malevolence of sundry persons—or rather at their folly—as I call to mind what sort of tales they invented, first of all in connexion with the mission of congratulation which you sent.[2] For they claimed that he[3] was not glad to receive your envoys, but was vexed, as if it were incumbent upon him to meet at the gate and there embrace all arrivals, or to speak the names of those who had not yet arrived, or to inquire about this one and that one, wanting to know how they were or why they had not all come. And others invented the tale that he gave the delegates from Smyrna very many presents, and that he sent untold riches along with the images of Nemesis,[4] and, by Heaven, that after some one else had delivered an address he granted him ten thousand councillors and ordered a flood of gold[5] to be turned in the direction

Alexander the Great to refound the city, and they were regarded with special reverence. See Pausanias 7. 5. 1-3. We may infer from Dio's report that Trajan sent Smyrna images of these deities, a supposition which would explain the appearance during Trajan's reign of a coin of Smyrna bearing a new type of Nemesis. See Volkmann in *P.W.* 16, pt. 2, 2353-2354.

[5] In such a context one naturally thinks of the golden Pactolus, which Dio presumably has in mind, but it becomes plain that he refers to imperial largess.

μυριάδες ἄπειροί τινες ἐδόθησαν· ὧν οὐδὲν ἦν
15 ἀληθές, ὡς ἐβουλόμην ἂν ἔγωγε. τὸ γὰρ πολλοὺς[1] καλῶς πράττειν καὶ μεγάλων τυγχάνειν οὐκ ἂν οὐδέποτε λυπήσειε τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα ἄλλως τε καὶ πρῶτον τυχόντα καὶ τὴν ἀφορμὴν ἴσως παρεσχηκότα. ὅμοιον γάρ, ὥσπερ εἴ τις αὐτῷ μόνον λάμπειν ἠξίου τὸν ἥλιον ἢ τὸν Δία ὕειν ἢ τοὺς ἀνέμους πνεῖν ἢ μηδένα ἄλλον ἀπὸ τῶν κρηνῶν δύνασθαι πιεῖν. ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ[2] φιλανθρωπότατος ὢν ὁ[3] αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ συνετώτατος ἁπάντων ἐμοί τε[4] παρέσχεν ὧν ἐγὼ ἐδεόμην καὶ ἄλλοις ὧν ἐκεῖνοι ἐδέοντο.

16 Τίνος οὖν ἕνεκεν εἴρηκα πάντα τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὑπὲρ ἄλλων ὑμῶν βουλευομένων; ὅτι καὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἐγὼ πρότερος ἡψάμην καὶ πολλοὺς εἶπον ἐνθάδε λόγους ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας, ἡγούμενος συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει τοῦτο καὶ[5] κρεῖττον εἶναι μὴ διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς μηδένα ἀνθρώπων, ἥκιστα δέ, οἶμαι, πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγὺς οὕτω καὶ ἀστυγείτονας. οὐ μέντοι πρὸς ἐκείνους γε ἦλθον οὐδὲ εἶπον φιλάνθρωπον οὐδὲν πρὸ τοῦ καταλλαγῆναι δημοσίᾳ τὴν πόλιν καὶ φίλους ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι. καίτοι ψήφισμά γε ἔπεμψαν εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ φιλοφρονούμενοι καὶ παρακαλοῦντες ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ πολλὰ δίκαιά μοι

[1] πολλοὺς] ἄλλους Emperius.
[2] ὁμοῦ Emperius : ὁ μὲν M, ὅμως UB.
[3] ὁ added by Emperius.
[4] ἐμοί τε Reiske : ἔμοιγε.
[5] καὶ added by Casaubon.

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[1] Dio's earlier successes in Rome, his friendship with Nerva, and his eloquent and tactful address before Trajan on the subject of kingship (Or. 1) seem to warrant this modest boast.

of his city, and countless thousands of guineas were bestowed—not a word of which was true, though for my part I wish it were. For to see many people meeting with success and gaining great favours would never disturb a man of discernment, especially a man who had been the first to encounter such good fortune, and had possibly furnished the precedent for it.[1] For it is quite as if a man were to demand that for him alone the sun should shine, or Zeus send his rain, or the winds blow, or that no one else should be permitted to drink from the springs. On the contrary, being at once most benevolent and most sagacious of all men, the Emperor not only gave me what I asked,[2] but also gave others what they asked.

Well, why have I made all this harangue, when you were considering other matters?[3] Because previously I not only had touched upon this matter, but had also in this place made many speeches in behalf of concord, believing that this was advantageous for the city, and that it was better not to quarrel with any man at all, but least of all, in my opinion, with those who are so close, yes, real neighbours.[4] However, I did not go to them or speak any word of human kindness in anticipation of the official reconciliation of the city and the establishment of your friendship with them. And yet at the very outset they sent me an official resolution expressing their friendship toward me and inviting me to pay them a visit.[5] Furthermore, I had many obligations

[2] Among other things, Dio obtained for Prusa a Council of 100 members (Or. 45. 3). The right to set up court at Prusa may have been obtained later. Cf. § 33.

[3] The real reason may have been to disarm his critics.

[4] I.e., the Apameians.

[5] Upon his return from exile, five years earlier.

πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπῆρχεν, ὥσπερ[1] ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐχ ὑπέμενον φιλανθρωπεύεσθαι κατ' ἐμαυτόν, ἀλλὰ κοινῇ μεθ' ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς ἐβουλόμην γενέσθαι φίλος. ὅθεν ὑφεωρῶντό με καὶ δυσχερῶς εἶχον.

17 Καὶ νῦν πυθόμενος τὰς διαλύσεις καὶ τὴν φιλίαν ταύτην πραττομένην, καὶ ψηφισαμένων ὑμῶν ἐμὲ καλεῖν, ἴσως καὶ ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς χρείας—τυχὸν γὰρ ἠλπίζετε κἀμοῦ μετασχόντος ῥᾷον μᾶλλον καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ἔσεσθαι πάντα· καίτοι καὶ νῦν ἴσως οὐ τοῖς παροῦσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ κἀμοὶ νέμοντες τιμὴν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, λογιζόμενοι κἀμὲ πολίτην ὑμέτερον, τυχὸν προθυμότεροι γεγόνασι πρὸς ὑμᾶς—ὅμως οὐ[2] σφόδρα ἠπείχθην εὐλαβούμενος μὴ γένηται τοῦτο ἐμποδὼν οὐκ ἐκείνοις, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐντεῦθέν τισι. σχεδὸν γὰρ εἰώθασι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐ τοῖς πραττομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πράττουσι φθονεῖν.

18 ἐπεὶ καὶ πέρυσι τοὺς λόγους τούτους πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔλεγον οἱ προεστῶτες αὐτῶν καὶ τότε ἐξῆν ὑμῖν ἀπηλλάχθαι πραγμάτων· ἀλλ' ὑφεωρώμην ἐγὼ μή τισι τῶν ἐντεῦθεν πρόσαντες γένηται καὶ δυσκόλως φέρωσιν ἐμοῦ πράττοντος αὐτά. καὶ νῦν τοίνυν[3] τρόπον τινὰ ἑκὼν ἐβράδυνα. ὅσα μὲν οὖν καὶ δι' ἐμοῦ καὶ δι' ἑτέρων δυνατὰ γίγνεσθαι τῇ πόλει,

[1] ὥσπερ] ὥσπερ οὐκ Geel, εἴπερ Emperius.
[2] οὐ Reiske : ὁ.
[3] τοίνυν added by Crosby.

[1] It is plain that envoys from Prusa were already in Apameia, and seemingly negotiations were not progressing

toward them, like any other citizen of Prusa; but still I did not undertake to show my goodwill toward them independently, but preferred rather to make friends with them along with you. So they looked upon me with distrust and were displeased.

Besides, at the present moment, although I had heard of the breaking off of hostilities, and that this compact of friendship was being negotiated, and although you had voted to summon me, possibly even for this very business—for you may have expected that everything would be easier to achieve and surer if I participated in it; and in fact even now perhaps by their honouring, not only those who are already in Apameia, but me too along with the others,[1] taking into account that I too am a citizen of yours, they may conceivably have become better disposed toward you—still, for all that, I was in no great haste to come before you, being wary lest my coming might prove a stumbling-block, not to the Apameians, but to some of the men from here. For, it is safe to say, many persons are wont to look with disfavour, not on the business under consideration, but rather on the negotiators. Why, even a year ago the leaders in Apameia were making these proposals to me, and you might at that time have been freed from trouble; yet I had misgivings lest the proposal might prove repugnant to some from here and they might be irritated if I acted in the matter. And so now too I have, as one might say, delayed intentionally. Accordingly, whatever can be accomplished for the city through others as well as through myself I ask to have entrusted to others

to suit the administration. We do not know to what honours Dio refers.

ταῦτα ἐκείνοις ἀξιῶ μᾶλλον ἐπιτρέπειν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀντιβαίνῃ μηδὲ λυπῆται βασκαίνων. ὅσα δ' οὐ ῥᾴδιον ὑπ' ἄλλου τῶν ἐντεῦθεν πραχθῆναι, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ λίαν χαλεπόν, ἡγεῖσθε πρὸς ἐκείνοις ἀεί με
19 τὴν γνώμην ἔχειν μέχρις ἂν ἐμπνέω. καὶ μὴν ὅστις ἂν προθυμῆται τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ δύνηταί τι ποιεῖν ὑμῖν συμφέρον, ἐμὲ πρῶτον ἕξει τὸν μαρτυροῦντα καὶ συναγωνιζόμενον, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα, ὃ γίγνεται ὀρθόν, πολὺ ἂν ἥδιον ἐπαινέσαιμι καὶ[1] προθυμότερον ἄλλου πράττοντος ἢ αὐτὸς εἰσηγούμενος. οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐδοκιμεῖν βουλόμενος οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπαινούντων ἀπορῶν οὐδ' ἐπιθυμίᾳ δόξης, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίᾳ βούλομαι γίγνεσθαί τι τῶν δεόντων, καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὔχομαι πᾶσι γηρῶν ὡς πλείστους ἐπιδεῖν ἱκανωτέρους ἐμοῦ τὴν πόλιν ὠφελεῖν.

20 Καὶ νῦν ὑπὲρ τούτου ἐπαινῶ τόν τε ἄρχοντα καὶ τὸν εἰσηγησάμενον. πᾶσα μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἔχθρα καὶ διαφορὰ πρὸς ὁντινοῦν γιγνομένη ἐργῶδες καὶ δυσχερὲς καὶ πόλει καὶ ἰδιώτῃ, κἂν ὁπωσοῦν τύχωσι διακείμενοι. τούς τε γὰρ ἀσθενεῖς ἱκανὸν ἐξελέγξαι καὶ ταπεινῶσαι πρὸς τοῖς οὖσι χαλεποῖς καὶ τοὺς εὖ πράττοντας ἐνοχλῆσαι καὶ ταράξαι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν· ὅθεν οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες αἱροῦνται φέρειν ἐλαττούμενοι τὰ μέτρια καὶ μὴ

[1] καὶ added by Reiske.

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[1] Sections 1-15 make very evident the bitterness with which some of Dio's fellow citizens looked upon him. He assures us that they formed only a minority, and Dio seems always to have retained popular support. Not only his

preferably, so that no one may make opposition or be offended because of malice toward me.[1] On the other hand, anything which cannot easily be achieved by any one else from here, but which is possibly very difficult to achieve at all, you may be sure always has my lively interest as long as I draw the breath of life. Nay more, whoever is enthusiastic in matters concerning the city and has the ability to accomplish anything to your advantage will find me the first to bear him witness and to lend a hand in his endeavour, and I would much more gladly, yes, more eagerly, praise the same enterprise, provided it be upright, if some one else were active in it than if I myself were its moving spirit. For it is not from a desire to be popular or because I lack men to praise me or because of a craving for notoriety, but rather because of my goodwill toward you, that I wish whatever is needful to come to pass, and I pray to all the gods that, as I grow old, I may behold the greatest possible number of men more competent than myself to benefit the city.

And now in this enterprise I praise both the official in charge and the man who made the motion. For practically every enmity, every disagreement arising in connexion with any person at all, is a vexatious thing and unpleasant for both state and private citizen, no matter how they may be situated. For enmity can not only expose and humiliate the weak, to say nothing of the hardships they have already, but also annoy those who are prosperous and distress their spirits. Therefore sensible persons prefer to submit to defeat in ordinary matters and

personal prestige but also his peculiarly close connexion with Apameia made him valuable at the moment.

σφόδρα ἀκριβῶς περιέχεσθαι τῶν δικαίων ἢ[1] φιλονικοῦντες ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ καὶ μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἴκοντες ἀεί τινας ἔχειν τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας καὶ πολεμοῦντας, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι νεμεσῶντας καὶ καθ' ὅσον οἷοί τέ εἰσιν ἐμποδὼν ἱσταμένους, τοῦτο δέ, ἂν συμβῇ τι πταῖσμα—πολλὰ δέ, ὡς ἐν
21 ἀνθρώποις, τὰ[2] γιγνόμενα—χαίροντας καὶ ἐπιτιθεμένους. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν οὐδεὶς ἀσθενὴς οὕτως οὐδὲ ἀδύνατος τὴν φύσιν, ἄνθρωπος ὢν πρὸς ἄνθρωπον, ὃς οὐ τυγχάνει καιροῦ τὴν δυσμένειαν ἐνδείξασθαι καὶ τὸ μῖσος ἢ καθ' αὑτὸν ἢ σὺν ἑτέροις καὶ λόγον τινὰ εἰπεῖν, ᾧ πάντως ἐλύπησε, καὶ πρᾶγμα συνθεῖναι τὸ βλάψον. οὐδὲ γὰρ νόσημα οὐδὲν οὕτως ἀναίσθητον τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὡς μηδέποτε βλάψαι μηδὲ ἐμποδὼν γενέσθαι μηδεμιᾶς πράξεως, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἐγρηγορότι καὶ βαδίζοντι μὴ σφόδρα ἐνοχλῇ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ σώματος, εἴς γε τὴν κοίτην ἀπήντησε καὶ διασπᾷ καὶ διαφθείρει τὸν ὕπνον.

22 Οὕτως ἔγωγέ φημι μηδέποτε λυσιτελεῖν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ φιλονικεῖν μηδὲ τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει πρὸς τὴν βραχυτάτην κώμην· ὅταν δὲ δὴ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἢ πόλιν οἰκοῦντας οὐ[3] σμικρὰν καὶ πολιτείαν ἐξαίρετον ἔχοντας καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τιμήν τινα καὶ δύναμιν, ἐὰν σωφρονῶσι—δεῖ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀκούειν τἀληθῆ καὶ μὴ χαλεπῶς φέρειν ἐάν τις ἑτέρους ἐπαινῇ βουλόμενος ὑμᾶς ὠφελεῖν—τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ὁμόρους καὶ ἀστυγείτονας καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ

[1] ἢ added by Reiske. [2] τὰ added by Reiske. [3] οὐ added by Casaubon.

to be not too precise in defending their rights, rather than, by quarrelling over every matter and never making any concessions to any one, always to have persons plotting against them and making war on them, persons who feel resentment at their good fortune and, so far as they are able, try to stand in the way of it, and who, on the other hand, if any reverse should take place—and many are the reverses which do occur, as is natural among men—rejoice and seize the opportunity to attack. For there is no one so weak or impotent by nature, man for man, who does not chance upon some opportunity to display his malice and hatred, either alone or in conjunction with others, and to make some statement by which he is certain to cause pain, or to contrive some situation sure to cause injury. Similarly there is no disease so imperceptible to those afflicted with it as never to do harm or become a hindrance to some activity, but even if it does not greatly hamper the strength of a man while awake and walking, at least it confronts him when he goes to bed and causes him distraction and destroys his slumber.

So I claim it is never profitable even for the greatest city to indulge in hostility and strife with the humblest village; but of course when the hostility is directed against men who occupy no small city, who have a superior form of government, and who, if they are prudent, enjoy a measure of distinction and influence with the proconsuls [1]—for you must hear the truth and not be vexed if a man praises others in his desire to benefit you—men who, above all, share your borders, are neighbours to

[1] Apameia occupied a position of distinction in Bithynia, being a Roman colony (Or. 41. 9).

καθ' ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν ὑμῖν ἐπιμιγνυμένους, τοῦτο μὲν τοῖς πλείστοις ἐπιγαμίας ὑπαρχούσης, τοῦτο δὲ πολιτῶν τινων, καὶ σχεδὸν τῶν δυνατωτάτων παρ' ἡμῖν, τῆς παρ' ἐκείνοις τιμῆς τετυχηκότων—πῶς χρὴ ταύτην ἄλυπον καὶ ἀβλαβῆ τὴν ἔχθραν ὑπολαμβάνειν;

23 Καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ με λέγειν ὡς ἄρα χρὴ τελέως ὑποπεσεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἐκείνων προαιρουμένων δίκαιον μηδὲ ἐπιεικὲς αὐτοὺς δεῖσθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν· αἱρουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ προθυμουμένων[1] εἰς φιλίαν, ἑτοιμοτέρους πρὸς τοῦτο φαίνεσθαι καὶ τὴν φιλονεικίαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἐπὶ τοῦτο μετενεγκεῖν πολὺ κάλλιον, ὅπως αὐτοὶ[2] εὐγνωμονέστεροι φανησόμεθα καὶ μᾶλλον καταφρονοῦντες χρημάτων

24 καὶ τοῦ πλείονος. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως αἰσχρόν ἐστι λείπεσθαι τοῖς διὰ τὸ μῖσος ἔργοις καὶ νὴ Δία τοῖς πρὸς ἔχθραν ὡς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς μετριότητος καὶ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνοις ἡττώμενος κινδυνεύει λαβεῖν δόξαν ἀσθενείας, ὁ δ' ἐν τούτοις σκαιότητος καὶ φιλονικίας. ὅσῳ δὴ κρεῖττον ἀσθενῆ δόξαι μᾶλλον ἢ πονηρόν, τοσούτῳ βέλτιον ὑστέρους εἶναι μαχομένους ἢ διαλλαττομένους.

25 Εἰκότως δ' ἄν μοι προσέχοιτε τὸν νοῦν μᾶλλον ἑτέρων, τυχὸν μὲν καὶ ἄλλως, ἔτι δὲ κἀκεῖνο σκοποῦντες ὅτι μηδὲν ἰδίᾳ μοι διαφέρει, μηδὲ ὄχλησίν τινα ὀκνῶν ἢ δαπάνην ἐμαυτοῦ διὰ τοῦτο ἀμελῶ

[1] After προθυμουμένων Arnim adds τά.
[2] αὐτοὶ Emperius: αὐτοῖς.

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[1] This was true of both Dio and his father, though doubtless of others too. However, humility was not a Greek virtue.
[2] The quarrel would seem to have involved material interests.

your city, and mingle with you almost every day, most of you being bound to them by ties of marriage, while some citizens, yes, virtually the most influential citizens among us, have obtained the honour of citizenship with them [1]—how in these circumstances should we regard this hostility as causing no pain and doing no harm?

And let no one imagine that I mean we should be wholly submissive, and that when they are not at all just or fair in their policies we should beg and entreat them; nay, but when they choose friendship and display an eagerness for it, to show ourselves more favourable to this policy and to transfer the rivalry growing out of our disagreement to this alternative course is far more creditable, a course whose aim is to make it plain that we ourselves are more reasonable and more scornful of wealth and personal advantage.[2] For it is not so disgraceful to prove inferior in actions prompted by hatred and, by Heaven, in those which provoke enmity as it is in those which are inspired by a spirit of moderation and benevolence. For while he who is overcome in the one is likely to gain a reputation for mere weakness, in the other it will be for boorishness and contentiousness. Indeed, the better it is to be deemed weak rather than base, so much the more preferable is it to be tardy in making war rather than in making peace.

Now there may be other grounds also on which you might with reason pay heed to me rather than to those others, but that is especially true because you observe that I have no private interest and am not disposed through any dread of annoyance or expense on my part to disregard the course which is becoming

τοῦ πρέποντος ὑμῖν. ὅτι γάρ με οὐκ ἐνοχλήσετε μὴ βουλόμενον οὐδὲ κελεύσετε ἀποδημεῖν ὥσπερ ἤδη πολὺν χρόνον ἔχοντα παρ' ὑμῖν, ἐπίσταμαι σαφῶς·—ἄλλως τε οὐκ ἀσχολούμενος ἐγὼ νομίζω συμφέρειν ὑμῖν οὐδὲ τοῦτον ἀποδημῶν τὸν τρόπον·—ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἔφην, βέλτιον ἡγοῦμαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, οὐ μόνον ὑμῖν, μήτε ἀναιρεῖσθαι ῥᾳδίως ἔχθραν μὴ σφόδρα ἀναγκαίαν, τάς τε πρότερον οὔσας καταλύεσθαι πάντα τρόπον, ἂν ᾖ δυνατόν, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ διαφέρεσθαί τισι βλάβην μείζονα ἡγουμένους
26 τῆς παρὰ[1] τὰς διαλύσεις ζημίας. πᾶσα γάρ, ὥς φασιν, εἰρήνη κρείττων πολέμου, καὶ πᾶσα φιλία πολὺ ἀμείνων καὶ λυσιτελεστέρα τοῖς γε νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἔχθρας, καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς οἴκοις καὶ δημοσίᾳ ταῖς πόλεσιν. εἰρήνη μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὁμόνοια τοὺς χρωμένους οὐδὲν πώποτε ἔβλαψεν, ἔχθρα δὲ καὶ φιλονικία θαυμαστὸν εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἀνήκεστα καὶ μεγάλα. καὶ τῆς μὲν ὁμονοίας τό τε ὄνομα εὔφημον ἥ τε πεῖρα ἀρίστη καὶ λυσιτελεστάτη πᾶσι· στάσεως δὲ καὶ διαφορᾶς σκυθρωπὴ μὲν ἡ προσηγορία καὶ δυσχερής, πολὺ δὲ χείρω[2] τὰ ἔργα καὶ σκυθρωπότερα. καὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἔνεστι[3] καὶ ἀκοῦσαι[4] πολλὰ τῶν ἀβουλήτων καὶ πρᾶξαι καὶ παθεῖν.

27 Ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐγγὺς οὕτως καὶ ὁμόρων διαφορὰ καὶ τὸ μῖσος οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ[5] ἔοικεν ἢ στάσει μιᾶς πόλεως,

[1] παρὰ Reiske : περὶ.
[2] After χείρω Arnim deletes καὶ.
[3] ἔνεστι Crosby, ποιεῖ Arnim : ἔστι.
[4] After ἀκοῦσαι Boissonade deletes καὶ.
[5] οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ Reiske : οὐδὲν ἄλλο.

to you. For I know full well you will not trouble me against my wishes, or order me to go abroad as if I had already made too long a stay in Prusa [1]—and besides, I do not believe I can assist you by sacrificing my leisure or by going abroad [2] in this manner—however, as I was saying,[3] I consider it better for men in general, and not merely for you, both to refrain from entering lightly into an enmity which is not extremely necessary and also by every means possible to put an end to enmities already existing, recognizing that the damage resulting from quarrelling with any people is greater than the loss incident to the reconciliation. For any peace, so they say, is better than war, and any friendship is far better and more profitable for men of right judgement than enmity, not only individually for our families, but also collectively for our cities. For peace and concord have never damaged at all those who have employed them, whereas it would be surprising if enmity and contentiousness were not very deadly, very mighty evils. Moreover, while concord is a word of good omen, and to make trial of it is most excellent and profitable for all, strife and discord are forbidding and unpleasant words even to utter, and much worse are their deeds and more forbidding. For the fact is, strife and discord involve saying and hearing said many things one might wish to avoid, and doing and experiencing them too.[4]

But the wrangling and hatred of men who are such near neighbours, yes, who share common borders, is like nothing else than insurrection in a single city,

[1] He had but recently returned from his mission to Rome.
[2] I.e., on a mission. [3] In §§ 20-22.
[4] He develops this thought at greater length in § 32.

ὅπου καὶ γάμων κοινωνία πολλοῖς καὶ συμβολαίων καὶ τὸ ἀφικνεῖσθαι παρ' ἀλλήλους σχεδόν τι καθ' ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ συγγενεῖς εἶναι καὶ συνήθεις καὶ ξένους τρόπον τινὰ ἀλλήλοις ἅπαντας. παροικοῦσα δὲ πόλις ἐχθρὰ καὶ δυσμενὴς λυπηρὸν πάντα τρόπον καὶ δυσομίλητον, ὥσπερ εὔνους καὶ
28 φίλη συμφέρον καὶ ἀγαπητόν. ἐνθυμεῖσθε δὲ ὅσῳ μὲν ἥδιον ἀποδημεῖν πρὸς τοὺς πέλας οἰκείως ἔχοντας ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐχθρῶς, ὅσῳ δὲ βέλτιον τοὺς ἐπιξενουμένους ὑποδέχεσθαι χωρὶς ὑποψίας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς κοιναῖς πανηγύρεσι καὶ θεῶν ἑορταῖς καὶ θέαις ὅσῳ κρεῖττον καὶ σωφρονέστερον ἀναμίγνυσθαι συνθύοντας ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνευχομένους, ἀλλὰ μὴ
29 τοὐναντίον καταρωμένους καὶ βλασφημοῦντας. αἱ δὲ ἐπιβοήσεις ἑκατέρου τοῦ πλήθους ἐν τοῖς σταδίοις καὶ τοῖς θεάτροις πόσον διαφέρουσι μετὰ ἐπαίνου γιγνόμεναι καὶ πολλῆς εὐφημίας τῶν μετὰ μίσους καὶ λοιδορίας; οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιεικῶν οὐδὲ πόλεων σωφρόνων, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑταιρῶν ἀσχημόνων ἀπὸ οἰκήματος ἑκατέρας[1] οὐδὲν αἰσχυνομένων ῥῆμα ἀκόλαστον εἰπεῖν, ᾗ φησιν Ὅμηρος,

αἵ τε χολωσάμεναι ἀγορῆς ἐς μέσσον ἰοῦσαι
νεικεῦσ' ἀλλήλῃσι, χόλος δέ τε καὶ τὰ κελεύει.

[1] ἑκατέρας] ἢ καὶ ἀγορᾶς Jacobs.

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[1] The close relationship between city and city is emphasized also in the plea which Dio makes for concord with Nicaea (Or. 38. 22).

[2] The ancient traveller was largely dependent on private hospitality.

[3] Aristophanes portrays just such a scene in *Ecclesiazusae* 877-937.

since many have ties both of marriage and of business, and there is almost daily visiting back and forth, and the inhabitants are all related and intimate and, as one might say, on terms of hospitality with one another.[1] But a neighbouring city that is at enmity and ill disposed is a grievous thing in every way and hard to get along with, even as a city that is well disposed and friendly is beneficial and much to be desired. Furthermore, consider how much more pleasant it is to visit one's neighbours when they are on terms of intimacy and not of hostility, and how much better it is for those who are entertained away from home to be received without distrust,[2] and how much better and more sensible it is at the common religious gatherings and festivals and spectacles to mingle together, joining with one another in common sacrifice and prayer, rather than the opposite, cursing and abusing one another. And how different are the shouts of the partisans of each of two cities in the stadium and the theatre, when uttered in praise and generous acclamation, from the cries which are uttered in hatred and abuse! For these outbursts are not for reasonable men or well-behaved cities, but rather for indecent harlots, who are not at all ashamed to utter licentious phrases, each from her respective chamber,[3] as Homer puts it,

> Who in a rage to mid-assembly go
> And bandy insults, so their choler bids.[4]

[4] The words of Aeneas to Achilles, *Iliad* 20. 252-255, are:

> *αἵ τε χολωσάμεναι ἔριδος πέρι θυμοβόροιο*
> *νεικεῦσ' ἀλλήλῃσι μέσην ἐς ἄγυιαν ἰοῦσαι,*
> *πολλά τ' ἐόντα καὶ οὐκί· χόλος δέ τε καὶ τὰ κελεύει.*

Has Dio forgotten the passage, or purposely compressed it, or is he recording a variant version?

30 πόσου[1] δὴ ταῦτά ἐστι τὸ μὴ πάσχειν; πόσῳ δὲ[2] πλείονος τὸ μὴ ποιεῖν; ποῖον δ' ἂν τοσοῦτο γένοιτο χρημάτων πλῆθος ἢ χώρας μέγεθος ἀνθ' οὗ προσήκει τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας ἀνθρώπους ἀντικαταλλάξασθαι τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν εὐφημίαν, τὸ πρεπόντως μὲν θεᾶσθαι,[3] προθύμως δὲ ἀποδημεῖν; καὶ μὴν τά γε τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλάττης καὶ τὰ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐξ ἅπαντος ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνάγει καὶ μὴ βουλομένους[4] ἀναγκάζει χρήσασθαι ἀλλήλοις. ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ δέονται τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν[5] ὕλης καὶ ἑτέρων πολλῶν καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν οὔτε εἰσαγαγέσθαι δι' ἑτέρου λιμένος οὔτε ἐκπέμψαι τὰ γιγνόμενα παρ' ἡμῖν.

31 Πῶς οὖν οὐχ ἁπάντων δυστυχέστατον ὠνεῖσθαι μὲν ἑκάστους παρὰ ἀνθρώπων οὐ φίλων, ἀποδίδοσθαι δὲ τοῖς μισοῦσι, κατάγεσθαι δὲ παρὰ τοῖς βαρυνομένοις, ὑποδέχεσθαι δὲ τοὺς λοιδοροῦντας, συνεστιᾶσθαι δὲ ἐνίοτε τοῖς ἀλλοτριωτάτοις· ἐὰν δὲ πλοίου τις ἐπιβαίνῃ, σαφῶς εἰδέναι καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην καὶ τοὺς ναύτας ἅπαντας καταρωμένους· τὸ δὲ πάντων ἀηδέστατον ὅραμα ἐχθρῶν, τοῦτο ἀεί ποτε ὁρᾶν καὶ πλέοντας καὶ βαδίζοντας, καὶ τούτοις ἀεὶ πλείστοις κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀπαντᾶν, πονηρὸν καὶ δυσχερῆ σύμβολον, ὥστε πάντως εἰπόντα

[1] πόσου Selden : πόσῳ.
[2] πόσῳ δὲ Emperius : ὅσῳ δή.
[3] θεᾶσθαι Reiske : θεάσασθαι.
[4] After βουλομένους Emperius adds καὶ.
[5] ἡμῶν Arnim : ὑμῶν.

[1] A glance at the map would clarify this statement. Prusa lay close beneath the northern slopes of Mysian Olympus,

How much, then, is it worth to avoid experiencing these things? How much more to avoid inflicting them on others? What amount of money or extent of territory would be such as to warrant sensible men in bartering therefor the seemly language of their daily lives, their becoming conduct at spectacles, and their readiness to go abroad? Furthermore, the very land and sea and mountains in every way bring you people together and, even if you did not wish it, compel you to deal with one another.[1] For not only do the Apameians need our timber and many other things as well, but we ourselves have no other harbour through which to import foreign goods or to export our own domestic products.

Is it not, then, most unfortunate that each should have to buy from men who are not friends and sell to men who hate them, to enter the port of men who are irked at their presence, to afford hospitality to men who revile them, and at times to recline at a banquet next to men who are most hostile to them; if one takes passage on a ship, to know clearly that both the skipper and all his crew are muttering curses at him; and to have ever before one's eyes, whether sailing or walking, the most distasteful sight of all, that of enemies, and always to encounter such persons in greatest numbers on one's travels—an evil and disagreeable omen [2]—as the result of which one is absolutely sure to have said something disagreeable or to have heard it said about himself as

while Apameia lay a short distance northwest on the shore of the *Sinus Cianus*. Dio's reference to the mountains is most appropriate, since it was the mountains that produced the timber which he mentions as a most important article of export.

[2] Chance meetings and sayings were regarded as omens.

32 τι παρελθεῖν ἢ ἀκούσαντα δυσχερές;[1] ὥστε ἔγωγε ἐνεθυμούμην πολλάκις τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀμαθίαν καὶ διαφθοράν, ὅτι τῶν σφόδρα ἀδόξων καὶ φαυλοτάτων ζῴων χείρους εἰσὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πολλάκις ἐντυχόντες ἀλλήλοις μάχονται καὶ λοιδορηθέντες ἀπίασιν· οἱ δὲ μύρμηκες οὕτω πυκνοὶ βαδίζοντες οὐδέποτε ἠνώχλησαν ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ πάνυ πρᾴως ἐντυγχάνουσι καὶ παρίασι[2] καὶ βοηθοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις.

33 Καὶ μὴν τὸ νῦν συμβεβηκὸς περὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς ἅπτεται πολλῶν καὶ κνίζει τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας, ὅτι δὴ τὰς δίκας ὑμεῖς ἀποδέχεσθε καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη κρίνεσθαι· χρὴ δὲ δι' αὐτὸ μᾶλλον φιλανθρώπως ἔχειν καὶ μὴ παρέχειν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιφθόνους. αὐτίκα[3] πρέσβεις οἱ χειροτονηθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα πόθεν ἀπίασιν; οὐκ ἐκεῖθεν; οὐ παρὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων ἀναχθήσονται πλέοντες καὶ χρήσονται τῷ λιμένι τῆς ἐχθρᾶς πόλεως; ἢ κύκλῳ περιίασιν, ὥσπερ χαλεπῆς καὶ ἀβάτου τῆς ἐγγὺς ἡμῖν θαλάττης; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῖς πρότερον διαφερομένοις πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ταῦτα ἡγοῦμαι χαλεπώτερα καὶ βαρύτερα τοῦ λαβόντας[4] ὅπλα βαδίζειν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἢ προσβάλλειν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἢ τὰ
34 δένδρα κόπτειν ἢ τῷ καρπῷ πῦρ ἐνιέναι. τούτων

[1] Emperius deleted ὥστε . . . δυσχερές.
[2] παρίασι] παριᾶσι Cobet.
[3] After αὐτίκα Arnim adds οἱ.
[4] λαβόντας Casaubon : λαβόντος.

[1] The animal kingdom, and especially the ants, provided Dio with his most effective illustrations. Cf., e.g., §§ 40-41.
[2] Cf. § 10 and note. It would seem that Prusa's judicial authority was a recent acquisition.

he passes by? So I have often reflected on the folly and the corruption of mankind, noting that men are spiritually inferior to the most despised and meanest creatures. For human beings often come to blows on meeting one another, and before they part they have exchanged abusive language; yet the ants, although they go about in such swarms, never bother one another, but quite amicably meet and pass and assist each other.[1]

Again, that which has now come to pass regarding our city in truth touches intimately many people and irritates without exception those who are not from Prusa, because it is you who hear their law-suits and it is in your city that they must stand trial[2]; but you ought on that account to be the more gracious and not make yourselves obnoxious. For example, from what place will envoys chosen for this function[3] set out? Will it not be from Apameia? Will they not set out on their voyage from the shores of their bitterest foes, and use the harbour of the enemy's city? Or will they make a detour around it, as if the sea at our doors were difficult and inaccessible? As for me, I believe that those also who in days gone by were at variance with their neighbours found such incidents harder to bear and more grievous than that people should take up arms and invade their country or attack their fortifications or cut down their trees or set fire to their crops. For although, in my opinion, such actions are hard

[3] Possibly τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα may refer to the negotiations over reconciliation with Apameia; but we have no other evidence that those negotiations involved a voyage—presumably to Rome—and it seems more likely that Dio means the "function" of envoy and is thinking, not of the immediate situation, but of a situation regularly present.

γάρ, οἶμαι, χαλεπῶν ὄντων, τῷ παντὶ χαλεπώτερόν ἐστιν, ἀφ᾽ ὧν γίγνεται, τὸ τῆς ἔχθρας καὶ τὸ τοῦ μίσους. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι φανῆναί ποτε ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ὠφέλιμον οὐδὲν[1] οὐδὲ χρηστόν. ὅ τε γὰρ τῆς ἔχθρας καρπὸς ἁπάντων[2] πικρότατος[3] καὶ δριμύτατος, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, τοὐναντίον ὁ τῆς εὐνοίας ἥδιστος καὶ λυσιτελέστατος. τὸ γὰρ μηδέποτε εἴκειν μηδὲ παραχωρεῖν τῷ πλησίον, λέγω δὲ χωρὶς αἰσχύνης, μηδὲ τῶν μὲν τυγχάνειν αὐτούς,[4] τὰ δὲ παριέναι τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὐκ ἀνδρεῖόν ἐστιν, ὥσπερ οἴονταί τινες, οὐδὲ μεγαλόφρον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνόητον καὶ ἀμαθές.

35 Οὐχ ὁρᾶτε[5] τοῦ ξύμπαντος οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ θείων καὶ μακαρίων αἰώνιον τάξιν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν καὶ σωφροσύνην, ἧς οὔτε κάλλιον οὔτε σεμνότερον οὐδὲν οἷόν τ᾽ ἐπινοῆσαι; πρὸς δὲ αὖ τῶν λεγομένων στοιχείων, ἀέρος καὶ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ πυρός, τὴν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ δικαίαν δι᾽ αἰῶνος ἁρμονίαν, μεθ᾽ ὅσης εὐγνωμοσύνης καὶ μετριότητος διαμένειν πέφυκεν αὐτά τε σῳζόμενα καὶ σῴζοντα τὸν

36 ἅπαντα κόσμον; σκοπεῖτε γάρ, εἰ καί τισι δόξει μετέωρος ὁ λόγος καὶ[6] οὐ πάνυ τι ὑμῖν συμπαθής, ὅτι ταῦτα πεφυκότα ἄφθαρτα καὶ θεῖα καὶ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μεγίστου γνώμῃ καὶ δυνάμει κυβερνώμενα θεοῦ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα φιλίας καὶ ὁμονοίας σῴζεσθαι φιλεῖ, τά τε ἰσχυρότερα καὶ μείζω καὶ τὰ ἐλάττω δὴ[7] δοκοῦντα.

[1] οὐδὲν added by Reiske.
[2] ἁπάντων Reiske : ἀπὸ πάντων.
[3] πικρότατος U : μικρότατος M, σμικρότατος B.
[4] After αὐτοὺς Arnim would add ἀξιοῦν.
[5] After ὁρᾶτε Arnim would add τήν.
[6] καὶ added by Reiske.
[7] δὴ Emperius : δὲ.

to bear, altogether harder to bear are the passions of enmity and hatred which cause them. For from such activity as this nothing beneficial or useful can ever possibly come to pass. For the fruit of enmity is most bitter of all and most stinging, just as, methinks, its opposite, the fruit of goodwill, is most palatable and profitable. For the unwillingness ever to yield or make concessions to our neighbour—that is, without a feeling of humiliation—or while receiving some things ourselves, to concede some to the others, is not manly conduct, as some imagine, but, on the contrary, senseless and stupid.

Do you not see in the heavens as a whole and in the divine and blessed beings that dwell therein[1] an order and concord and self-control which is eternal, than which it is impossible to conceive of anything either more beautiful or more august? Furthermore, do you not see also the stable, righteous, everlasting concord of the elements, as they are called —air and earth and water and fire—with what reasonableness and moderation it is their nature to continue, not only to be preserved themselves, but also to preserve the entire universe? For even if the doctrine will seem to some an airy fancy and one possessing no affinity[1] at all with yourselves, you should observe that these things, being by nature indestructible and divine and regulated by the purpose and power of the first and greatest god, are wont to be preserved as a result of their mutual friendship and concord for ever, not only the more powerful and greater, but also those reputed to be the

[1] The planets.
[2] The word "affinity" was a technical term of the Stoics, whose philosophy occupies Dio from here to the end.

ταύτης δὲ τῆς κοινωνίας διαλυθείσης καὶ στάσεως ἐπιγενομένης οὐχ οὕτως ἀνώλεθρος οὐδὲ ἄφθαρτος αὐτῶν ἡ φύσις ὥστε μὴ ταραχθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἀμήχανόν τε καὶ ἄπιστον, ὥς φασιν, ὑπομεῖναι φθορὰν
37 *ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ λεγομένη παρὰ τοῖς σοφοῖς ἐπικράτησις αἰθέρος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ βασίλειον*[1] *καὶ τὸ κυριώτατον τῆς ψυχικῆς δυνάμεως ὂν*[2] *οὐκ ἀποτρέπονται πῦρ ὀνομάζειν πολλάκις, ὅρῳ τε καὶ πρᾴως γιγνομένη*[3] *ἔν τισι χρόνοις τεταγμένοις, μετὰ πάσης φιλίας καὶ ὁμονοίας ἔοικε συμβαίνειν. ἡ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πλεονεξία καὶ διαφορὰ παρανόμως γιγνομένη τὸν ἔσχατον ἔχει κίνδυνον ὀλέθρου, περὶ τῶν ὅλων οὔποτε ἐσομένου*[4] *διὰ τὸ πᾶσαν εἰρήνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν καὶ πανταχοῦ πάντα δουλεύειν καὶ ξυνακολουθεῖν εὐγνώμονι νόμῳ πειθόμενα καὶ εἴκοντα.*

38 Οὐχ *ὁρᾶτε τοῦτο μὲν ἥλιον νυκτὶ μεθιστάμενον καὶ παρέχοντα ἀνατεῖλαι τοῖς ἀφανεστέροις ἄστροις, τοῦτο δὲ*[5] *σελήνην ἐῶντα καταλάμψαι τὴν ἅπασαν γῆν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τοῦ κρείττονος φωτός; τοῦτο δὲ ἄστρα ὑποχωροῦντα ἡλίῳ καὶ μηδὲν ἡγούμενα πάσχειν μηδὲ ἀπόλλυσθαι*[6] *διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ θεοῦ*[7] *δύναμιν; τοῦτο δὲ αὖ τὸν ἥλιον περὶ μέσην ἐνίοτε ἡμέραν ἐπισκοτούμενον σελήνης ἐπιδραμούσης, ᾗ τὸ φῶς αὐτὸς δίδωσι, πολλάκις γε μὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσθενεστάτων νεφῶν ἀποκρυπτόμενον ἢ τινος ἀραιᾶς ὁμίχλης περί τε λίμνας καὶ ποταμοὺς ἱσταμένης, ὡς ἔσθ' ὅτε μὲν εἴργεσθαι*

[1] *βασίλειον*] *βασιλεῦον* Arnim. [2] *ὂν*] *ὃ* Arnim.
[3] *γιγνομένη* Reiske : *γιγνόμενον*.
[4] *ἐσομένου*] *ἐσόμενον* Arnim.
[5] *τοῦτο δὲ*] *καὶ* Arnim.
[6] *ἀπόλλυσθαι*] *ἀδικεῖσθαι* Herwerden.

weaker. But were this partnership to be dissolved and to be followed by sedition, their nature is not so indestructible or incorruptible as to escape being thrown into confusion and being subjected to what is termed the inconceivable and incredible destruction from existence to non-existence. For the predominance of the ether of which the wise men speak—the ether wherein the ruling and supreme element of its spiritual power they often do not shrink from calling fire—taking place as it does with limitation and gentleness within certain appointed cycles, occurs no doubt with entire friendship and concord. On the other hand, the greed and strife of all else, manifesting itself in violation of law, contains the utmost risk of ruin, a ruin destined never to engulf the entire universe for the reason that complete peace and righteousness are present in it and all things everywhere serve and attend upon the law of reason, obeying and yielding to it.

For example, do you not observe how the sun gives place to night, permitting the more obscure heavenly bodies to rise and shine, and again how it allows the moon to flood with light the whole earth during the absence of the greater luminary? And again, how the stars make way for the sun and do not feel they are being mistreated or destroyed through that god's power? And again, how the sun sometimes about mid-day is darkened when the moon passes over it—the moon to which he himself gives his light—and furthermore, how the sun often is hidden by the most tenuous clouds or by some thin vapour arising near ponds and rivers, so that at times the sun is completely shut in, while at other times

[7] τοῦ θεοῦ deleted by Arnim.

παντελῶς, ἐνίοτε δὲ ἀδρανῆ τὴν ἀκτῖνα καὶ λεπτὴν
39 διαπέμπειν; τοῦτο δὲ τῶν πλανωμένων ἄστρων[1] τὴν ἄπαυστον χορείαν, ἃ μηδέποτε ἀλλήλοις ἐμποδὼν ἵσταται; πρὸς δὲ αὖ γῆ μὲν τὴν κατωτάτω χώραν λαχοῦσα ὑπομένει, καθάπερ ἕρμα νεώς, ὕδωρ δὲ περὶ ταύτῃ κεχυμένον, ὕπερθεν δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἀὴρ μαλακός τε καὶ εὔπνους, ὁ δὲ ἀνωτάτω καὶ ξύμπαντα ἔχων αἰθὴρ πυρὸς θείου κύκλῳ περιδραμόντος αὐτοῖς. καὶ ταῦτα μέν, οὕτως ἰσχυρὰ καὶ μεγάλα, τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα κοινωνίαν ἀνέχεται καὶ διατελεῖ χωρὶς ἔχθρας· μικρὰ δὲ οὕτω πολίχνια τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔθνη[2] ἀσθενῆ κατοικοῦντα ἐν μέρει τῆς γῆς οὐ δύναται τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν οὐδὲ ἀθορύβως ἀλλήλοις γειτνιᾶν;

40 Ἀλλ' ὄρνιθες μὲν ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ποιησάμενοι νεοττιὰς οὐκ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὑτοῖς οὐδὲ διαφέρονται περὶ τροφῆς καὶ[3] φρυγάνων, οὐδὲ μύρμηκες πλησίον ὀπὰς ἔχοντες, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἅλω πολλάκις εἰσφερόμενοι σῖτον, ἀλλὰ παραχωροῦσιν αὑτοῖς[4] καὶ τῶν ὁδῶν ἐκτρέπονται καὶ συνεργάζονται πολλάκις, οὐδὲ ἑσμοὶ πλείονες μελιττῶν, ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν νεμόμενοι λειμῶνα, τῶν ἔργων ἀμελήσαντες
41 περὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν τῆς δρόσου διαφέρονται. καὶ μὴν ἀγέλαι βοῶν τε[5] καὶ ἵππων ἀναμιχθεῖσαι πολλάκις ἀθορύβως καὶ πρᾴως νέμονται, ὥστε μίαν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀγέλην ὁρᾶσθαι· ἔτι δὲ αἰπόλια καὶ ποίμνια συμμιχθέντα ἐπὶ νομῆς καὶ ἡμερεύσαντα[6] ῥᾳδίως

[1] ἄστρων Emperius : ἀστέρων.
[2] καὶ ἔθνη Reiske : ἔθνη καί.
[3] καὶ added by Emperius.
[4] αὑτοῖς Emperius : αὐτοῖς.
[5] βοῶν τε Arnim : τε βοῶν.

it sends its ray through the vapour thin and feeble? And again, the ceaseless circling dance of the planets, which never get in each other's way? Moreover, the earth is content with having drawn the lowest place, like a ship's prop, and the water with having been poured about it, and, above them both is the atmosphere, soft and fresh, and, highest of all and all-embracing, is the ether, a divine fire encompassing the others.[1] Now if these beings, strong and great as they are, submit to their partnership with one another and continue free from hostility, cannot such puny, petty towns of ordinary mortals, such feeble tribes dwelling in a mere fraction of the earth, maintain peace and quiet and be neighbours to one another without uproar and disturbance?

Why, birds make their nests near each other, yet do not plot against each other or quarrel over food and twigs; and ants do not quarrel either, though they have their burrows close together, often carrying home grain from the same threshing-floor, but instead they make way for each other and turn off the trail and co-operate frequently; no more do several swarms of bees, though they range over the same meadow, neglect their labours and wrangle over the nectar of the flowers. What is more, herds of cattle and droves of horses often mingle in the pasture and graze quietly and tranquilly, insomuch that to the eye the two breeds form but a single group. And again, goats and sheep which have mingled in the pasture and passed the day together

[1] With the Stoic doctrine contained in §§ 35-39 cf. Or. 36. 29-31 and the "myth of the Magi" used to reinforce it in Or. 36. 39-60.

[6] καὶ ἡμερεύσαντα] διημερεύσαντα Reiske.

καὶ πρᾴως ὑπὸ τῶν νομέων διεκρίθησαν. ἄνθρωποι δὲ βοσκημάτων καὶ θηρίων χείρους, ὡς ἔοικε, τὰ πρὸς φιλίαν καὶ τὸ κοινωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις. ἃ γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἐποίησεν εὐνοίας ἕνεκα, ταῦτα ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἔχθρας καὶ μίσους αἴτια γιγνόμενα. αὐτίκα ἡ πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη φιλία γονεῦσι πρὸς παῖδας.

[1] This sentence may well be an interpolation, for the thought contained in it does not harmonize completely with its context.

are easily and gently separated by their keepers.[1] However, human beings are worse than cattle and creatures of the wild, it would seem, in regard to friendship and partnership with one another. For what Nature has done in the cause of friendship[2] turns out, as we can see, to be a source of enmity and hatred. For example, the first and highest friendship is that of parents toward children.[3] . . .

[2] I.e., by bringing groups of human beings into close contact with each other.

[3] Whether or not this sentence is complete in itself, the peroration plainly has been broken off abruptly.

THE FORTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: TO THE APAMEIANS ON CONCORD

This short address constitutes the sequel to Or. 40, which it must have followed closely in point of time. Dio is speaking before the Council of Apameia as a member of the official delegation from Prusa sent to conclude the reconciliation which forms the theme of both speeches. That the question was of widespread interest is shown by the presence in the audience of others than members of the Council (§ 1).

The first half of the address is aimed at dispelling the distrust and hostility toward Dio occasioned by his seeming indifference to the Apameians in the past. This he attempts to bring about by recalling the ties which bound him and his family to that city and by explaining the delicacy of his situation as a member of both communities. The remainder of the speech is devoted to praising the blessings of concord and stressing the peculiarly intimate nature of the ties existing between the two cities. Here there are many echoes of Or. 40.

The abruptness of the close might suggest that the speech is incomplete. However, such a supposition is not unavoidable. Dio has presumably achieved his immediate purpose—to restore himself to good favour at Apameia and, as a delegate from Prusa, to make his voice heard in support of concord. It is not as if he were the only delegate to be heard.

41. ΠΡΟΣ ΑΠΑΜΕΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΣ

1 Ὅτι μὲν ὑμεῖς, ὦ βουλὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ παρόντες οἱ μετριώτατοι, πρᾴως πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ φιλικῶς ἔχετε, δοκῶ μοι τοῦτο γιγνώσκειν. αὐτός τε γὰρ ἐμαυτὸν οἶδα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενον τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν[1] εὔνοιαν καὶ μηδέποτε μηδὲν ἐναντίον μήτε εἰπόντα μήτε πράξαντα, καὶ ὑμεῖς εὐθὺς ἐμὲ ἀφικόμενον ἐτιμήσατε δημοσίᾳ, ψήφισμά τι[2] πέμψαντες, συνηδόμενοι τῆς καθόδου καὶ παρακαλοῦν-
2 τες ἐπιδημῆσαι πρὸς αὑτούς. καὶ ἴσως οὐδὲν ἐποιεῖτε θαυμαστόν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἰσοτίμων ὑμῖν αἱ πλεῖσται σχεδόν, ὅπου γέγονα, καὶ πολιτείας καὶ βουλῆς καὶ τῶν πρώτων τιμῶν οὐδὲν δεομένῳ μετέδωκαν, οὐκ ἀνωφελῆ σφισι[3] νομίζοντες οὐδὲ ἀνάξιον τιμᾶσθαι. τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλότριον ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν εὐνοίᾳ καὶ χάριτι πατρίδος τιμώσης πολίτην αὑτῆς.[4] τὸ δὲ εἶναί τινας, ὡς ἂν ἐν δήμῳ, τῶν ἐνθάδε ἐμοὶ σχεδὸν μὴ σφόδρα ἡδομένους οὐκ ἂν θαυμά-

[1] ὑμῶν Morel : ὑμῖν.
[2] ψήφισμά τι Capps : ψηφίσματι.
[3] ἀνωφελῆ σφισι Selden : ἀνωφελῆς φησὶ M, ἀνωφελῆ φησὶ UB.
[4] αὑτῆς Emperius : αὐτῆς.

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[1] Dio means his return from exile. Cf. Or. 40. 16.

THE FORTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: TO THE APAMEIANS ON CONCORD

Members of the Council and you other most fair-minded gentlemen here present, I believe I know for a fact that you are kindly and amiably disposed toward me. For I am sure I myself esteem highly your favourable regard and have never said or done anything against you, and besides, immediately on my reaching home [1] you honoured me officially with a resolution which you sent me, expressing your joy over my return and inviting me to pay you a visit. And perhaps there was nothing remarkable in what you did; for wherever I have been, not only cities in general, but even, I may say, most of those which are of equal rank with yourselves, have presented me with citizenship, with membership in the Council, and with highest honours without my asking it, believing me to be not unserviceable to themselves or unworthy of being honoured. And your action is not that of strangers but rather, as it were, of a fatherland honouring its own son [2] in token of good-will and of gratitude. Yet that there should be some here—as is natural in a democracy—who, if I may say so, are not too pleased with me [3] would not surprise me, because of the rivalry between our two

[2] Though a native of Prusa, he was an adoptive citizen of Apameia. [3] Cf. Or. 40. 16.

σαιμι διὰ τὴν τῶν πόλεων φιλοτιμίαν. καίτοι
ἐπίσταμαι σαφῶς οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐκεῖ πολίτας ἅπαν-
τας ἀρέσαι δυνάμενος, ἀλλ' ἐνίους δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο
ἀχθομένους ὅτι λίαν δοκῶ φιλόπολις καὶ πρόθυμος.
3 δεῖ δὲ τὸν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μέτριον ἄνδρα καὶ ταύ-
την παρέχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πολίταις.
τὸ γὰρ μηδένα ἐν πόλει μήτε ἀντιλέγειν ἑνὶ μή-
τε μέμφεσθαι κἂν ἅπαντα φαίνηται ποιῶν καλῶς,
οὐ δήμων ἐστὶν οὐδὲ ἐπιεικές, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον φιλεῖ
τὸ τοιοῦτον συμβαίνειν τοῖς τυράννοις ἢ τοῖς
εὐεργέταις. εἰ οὖν εἰσί τινες πρὸς ἐμὲ δυσκόλως
διακείμενοι, τούτοις μάλιστα πιστεύω. δῆλον γὰρ
ὡς νομίζοντές με ἀγαπᾶν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πατρίδα
καὶ πάντα τρόπον αὔξειν οὕτως ἔχουσιν. ἐὰν οὖν
πεισθῶσιν ὅτι καὶ ταύτην ἡγοῦμαι πατρίδα, καὶ
πράττειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ὅ τι ἂν δύνωμαι πρόθυμός
εἰμι, ῥᾳδίως μεταβαλοῦνται καὶ ἀγαπήσουσί με
τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως.
4 Τὸ μὲν οὖν φιλεῖν τὴν πατρίδα μάλιστα πάντων
οὐκ ἔξαρνός εἰμι. πυνθάνομαι δὲ αὐτῶν εἰ τοῦτο
ἀδίκου νομίζουσιν ἀνδρὸς εἶναι καὶ μοχθηροῦ, καὶ
πολίτην τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιεν εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς.
οὐκοῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ἔχειν κἀμὲ πολίτην ἀνυπόπτως
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς βελτίστους. καὶ τοίνυν δι'
αὐτό μοι τοῦτο πιστεύοιτε ἂν δικαιότερον· ὅστις
μὲν γὰρ ἀγνώμων περὶ τοὺς φύσει γονέας οὐκ ἂν
5 γένοιτο ὅσιος οὐδὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεμένους αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ
τοὺς γεννήσαντας ἀγαπῶν οὐδέποτ' ἂν ἀμελήσειε

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[1] Cf. Or. 40. 8-9.

[2] I.e., those who feel hostile toward him.

cities. Though I am aware that I cannot please even all the citizens of Prusa, but, on the contrary, that some of them are vexed with me for the very reason that I seem to be too patriotic and enthusiastic.[1] However, a man who is reasonable and fair-minded must allow his fellow citizens this licence too. For it is not to be expected of democracies, nor is it reasonable, that they should not allow anyone in a city either to raise his voice against a single person or to find fault with him, even when that person shows himself to be behaving well in all respects, but such immunity from criticism is more likely to be accorded to dictators than to benefactors. Therefore, if there are some who are ill disposed toward me, it is they in whom I have the most confidence. For it is clear that they feel as they do because they believe I love my fatherland and try to foster it in every way. Therefore, if they become convinced that I regard this city too as my fatherland and am eager to do in its behalf all in my power, they will readily change and come to love me as the others do.

Now love of native land is a thing which, above all, I do not disclaim. But I ask them[2] whether they regard this as the mark of an unjust man and one who is base, and whether they would not care to have that kind of citizen in their state. Well then, you have the opportunity to have as a citizen above suspicion not only me but the best of the other Prusans as well. And furthermore, you might more justly feel confidence in me for this very reason; for whoever is inconsiderate toward his natural parents would never be a dutiful son to his parents by adoption; whereas he who cherishes those to whom he owes his being would never neglect those who have

τῶν χάριτι γονέων γενομένων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς φύσεως αὐτόματόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ τῆς χάριτος ἑκούσιον. εἰμὶ μὲν οὖν πολίτης ἑκατέρων· ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐ δεῖ με περὶ τούτου χάριν εἰδέναι, ὑμᾶς δὲ ὡς εὐεργέτας ἀμείβεσθαι δίκαιον. διὰ γάρ[1] τὴν ὑμετέραν εὔνοιαν καὶ δωρεὰν μετέχω τῆς πόλεως.

Ἀλλ' ὅσοι μὲν αὐτοὶ πολῖται γεγόνασι, τούτοις μόνον ὑπάρχει φιλάνθρωπον τὸ τῆς δωρεᾶς, τὸ δὲ
6 τῆς φύσεως ἀναγκαῖον οὐ πρόσεστιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων μέτεστιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πάππος ὁ ἐμὸς μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς παρὰ τοῦ τότε αὐτοκράτορος φίλου ὄντος ἅμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἔτυχεν, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ τῆς[2] παρ' ὑμῶν· ὥστε καὶ χάριτι καὶ γένει πολίτης ὑμέτερός εἰμι.[3] καὶ μὴν τῶν γε ἐμῶν τέκνων ἥδε πατρίς ἐστι μᾶλλον. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖον συνακολουθεῖν τὰ τέκνα τῷ πατρί, πολὺ δὲ ἥδιον τοῦτον[4] τὸν πατέρα τοῖς παισὶ συνέπεσθαι.

7 Διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εὔνους ὢν ὑμῖν τυγχάνω καὶ πολίτου διάθεσιν ἔχω· καὶ φανερῶς δὲ ἐδήλωσα. τῆς γὰρ φιλονικίας ἐνεστώσης ταῖς πόλεσι, καὶ τῆς πατρίδος σφόδρα μὲν αἰδουμένης ἐμὲ ἄκοντα ἐνοχλῆσαι, σφόδρα δὲ ἐπιθυμούσης ἀναλαβεῖν τὸ

[1] γὰρ Reiske : δέ. [2] τῆς added by Wendland.
[3] Following this sentence the MSS. read : τὸ γὰρ ἀπωτέρω δυοῖν βαθμοῖν ζητεῖν τὸ γένος οὐδαμῶς ἐπιεικές. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω τό γε ἀληθὲς ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς εὑρεθήσεται πόλεως, *For it is not at all suitable to try to trace one's birth farther back than two degrees, since by so doing no one, in truth, will be found to come from any city.* This Crosby deletes as an interpolation.
[4] τοῦτον added by Crosby.

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[1] That his maternal grandfather was a man of cultivation and influence is stressed in Or. 46. 3. Arnim suggests that

become parents as an act of grace. For Nature operates without our choice, whereas grace is an act of freewill. Now then, I am a citizen of each of our two cities; but while I need not feel grateful to the men of Prusa in that connexion, it is only fair that I should requite you as benefactors. For it is through your kindness and generosity that I am a member of your city.

However, for all who have gained citizenship by themselves there is only the benevolence inspired by the grant, and the compulsion which Nature imposes is not attached to it. But as for me, I partake of both; for my grandfather, along with my mother, acquired from the emperor of that day, who was his friend, not only Roman citizenship, but along with it citizenship in Apameia too,[1] while my father got citizenship here from you; consequently I am your fellow townsman by both grace and birth. Again, to my children at least this is fatherland rather than Prusa.[2] While, therefore, necessity dictates that the children follow the father, it is much more pleasant for this father to follow his children.

These, then, are the reasons why I happen to be well disposed toward you and have a citizen's state of mind; and, moreover, I have shown it openly too. For when strife had broken out between our cities and the city of my birth very considerately disliked to trouble me against my wishes,[3] though it was

Claudius may have been the emperor whose favour he enjoyed.

[2] It has been thought that his family made their home in Apameia during his exile. His children may actually have been born there, for, as we have seen, Dio's connexion with the city was very close.

[3] Cf. Or. 40. 25.

πρᾶγμα, πολλάκις τῷ τιμᾶν προκαλουμένης οὐκ ἐπήκουσα[1] πρὸς τοῦτο μόνον—οὐδὲν ἂν ὀκνήσας ἐκείνης ἕνεκεν ποιῆσαι, μηδενὸς ἔλαττον τυχὸν πρᾶξαι δυνάμενος, καὶ φίλων μοι ὄντων οὔτε ὀλίγων οὔτε ἀδυνάτων, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐπίφθονον εἴπω μηδὲ ὃ λυπήσει τινάς, ἔτι δὲ οὐκ ὀκνῶν τὴν ὁδόν,
8 ὁπότ᾽ ἔδει[2] με καὶ ἄλλως ἀπιέναι. τούτων οὖν ὑπαρχόντων ἀπεσχόμην τοῦ πράγματος, οὐκ ἐκείνους προδιδούς, ἀλλ᾽ αἰδούμενος ὑμᾶς καὶ νομίζων χρησιμώτερος ἔσεσθαι κἀκείνοις καὶ ὑμῖν ἐὰν δύνωμαι φίλας ποιῆσαι τὰς πόλεις τῶν τε προτέρων[3] ζητημάτων[4] ἀπαλλάξας καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς εὔνοιαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν προτρεψάμενος. τοῦτο γὰρ ἁπάντων βέλτιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἴσοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς κρείττοσι πρὸς τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους.

9 Ἐπίσταμαι μὲν οὖν ὡς χαλεπόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων ἐξελεῖν ἔριν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν πλείονι χρόνῳ τεθραμμένην, ὥσπερ νόσημα ἐκ πολλοῦ συμπεφυκὸς οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἀπαλλάξαι τοῦ σώματος, ἄλλως τε εἴ τις ἐθέλοι ἀνωδύνως ἰᾶσθαι. ὅμως δὲ πιστεύω τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἤθει, νομίζων οὐ σκληρὸν οὐδὲ ἀμαθές, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι γνήσιον ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῆς μακαρίας πόλεως, ὑφ᾽ ἧς δεῦρο ἐπέμφθητε

[1] ἐπήκουσα] ὑπήκουσα Geel.
[2] ὁπότ᾽ ἔδει Crosby: ὁπότε δεῖ.
[3] προτέρων with UBT: πρότερον.
[4] ζητημάτων] ζηλωμάτων Geel, ἐγκλημάτων Emperius.

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[1] He probably has Trajan in mind, but he avoids direct reference as being more politic.

[2] For his reluctance to answer the call of Prusa, cf. Or. 40. 17-18.

very eager to take up the problem, often inviting my support by the honours it bestowed upon me, I did not give heed to this inducement alone—not that I should have had any reluctance about acting in behalf of Prusa, since I might possibly have accomplished as much as any one and had not a few friends, and friends, too, not lacking in influence,[1] not to say anything invidious or likely to hurt some persons' feelings; furthermore, it was not because I shrank from the journey, since I had to go abroad in any case. Well then, in spite of these considerations I held off from the affair,[2] not as a traitor to the men of Prusa, but out of consideration for you, and because I believed I should be more serviceable to both sides if I could make the cities friends, not alone by ridding them of their past subjects of dispute, but also by turning them toward friendship and concord for the future.[3] For this is the best course of all and the most expedient, not only in dealings between equals, but also in dealings between superiors and inferiors.

Now I understand how difficult it is to eradicate strife from human beings, especially when it has been nurtured for a fairly long period of time, just as it is not easy to rid the body of a disease that has long since become a part of it, especially in case one should wish to effect a painless cure. But still I have confidence in the character of your city, believing it to be, not rough and boorish, but in very truth the genuine character of those distinguished men and that blessed city by which you were sent

[3] Dio hopes that this explanation will dispel the suspicion and irritation on the part of the Apameians because of his seeming coldness, to which he alludes in Or. 40. 16.

φίλοι δὴ παρὰ φίλους[1] οἰκήσοντες· ἢ τοσοῦτον εὐτυχίᾳ διαφέρουσα τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ δυνάμει πλέον διενήνοχεν ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, τοῦτο μὲν ἀφθόνως μεταδιδοῦσα καὶ πολιτείας καὶ νόμων καὶ ἀρχῶν, οὐδέν' ἀλλότριον ἡγουμένη τῶν ἀξίων, τοῦτο δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπασι φυλάττουσα τὸ δίκαιον.

10 Ἣν προσήκει μιμουμένους ὑμᾶς πρᾴους καὶ μεγαλόφρονας φαίνεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς[2] ἐγγὺς οὕτω,[3] συνοίκους σχεδόν, μὴ χαλεποὺς μηδὲ ὑπερηφάνους γείτονας, πρὸς οὓς ὑμῖν καὶ γάμοι κοινοὶ καὶ τέκνα καὶ πολιτεῖαι καὶ θυσίαι θεῶν καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ θεάματα, καὶ συμπαιδεύεσθε αὐτοῖς[4] καθ' ἕνα καὶ συνεστιᾶσθε καὶ ἀλλήλους ὑποδέχεσθε καὶ ἀλλήλοις[5] τὸν πλείω χρόνον συνδιατρίβετε καὶ σχεδὸν εἷς ἐστε δῆμος καὶ μία πόλις ἐν οὐ πολλῷ διαστήματι. καὶ τοίνυν πλείους τῶν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ πολίτας πεποίησθε, καὶ βουλῆς μετεδώκατε, καὶ ἄρχοντας οὐκ ἀπηξιώσατε γενέσθαι παρ' ὑμῖν, καὶ τῶν σεμνῶν τούτων, ἃ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶ πόλεως,
11 ἐκοινωνήσατε. πῶς οὖν εἰκὸς καθ' ἕνα μὲν ἕκαστον ἡγεῖσθαι φίλον καὶ τιμᾶν, κοινῇ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐχθρὰν νομίζειν, ὑμᾶς τε ἐκείνην κἀκείνους τὴν ὑμετέραν; οἱ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀγαπῶντες καὶ

[1] After φίλους Casaubon deletes δεῦρο.
[2] πρὸς τοὺς with U corr.] τοὺς BTM.
[3] After οὕτω Emperius adds καί.
[4] αὐτοῖς Crosby : τοῖς. [5] ἀλλήλοις deleted by Arnim.

[1] Apameia, originally Myrlaea, had been refounded as a

here as friends indeed to dwell with friends.[1] That city, while so superior to the rest of mankind in good fortune and power, has proved to be even more superior in fairness and benevolence, bestowing ungrudgingly both citizenship and legal rights and offices, believing no man of worth to be an alien, and at the same time safeguarding justice for all alike.

In emulation of that city it is fitting that you should show yourselves gentle and magnanimous toward men who are so close to you, virtually housemates, and not harsh and arrogant neighbours, since they are men with whom you have common ties of wedlock, offspring, civic institutions, sacrifices to the gods, festive assemblies, and spectacles; moreover, you are educated together with them individually, you feast with them, you entertain each other, you spend the greater portion of your time together, you are almost one community, one city only slightly divided.[2] Besides, several citizens of Prusa you have even made citizens of Apameia, you have made them members of the Council, you have deemed them not unworthy of becoming magistrates among you, and you have admitted them to partnership in these august privileges which pertain to Roman citizenship.[3] How, then, is it reasonable to regard individuals singly as friends and to show them honour, and then as a community to view their city as a foe, as Apameia and Prusa both are doing? For when men love the inhabitants of a city and

colony of Rome. The eulogy of Rome which follows is notable, but deserved.

[2] Prusa and Apameia were separated by not more than twelve miles at most.

[3] On this summary of the ties that bound the two cities, cf. Or. 40. 22 and 27-29.

ἐπιμιγνύμενοι τούτοις καὶ προσαγόμενοι πολίτας τί λοιπὸν ἢ τὸν ἀέρα[1] ἐχθαίρουσι καὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἤ, ὃ μηδὲ εἰπεῖν ὅσιον, τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπεχθάνονται; καὶ τοίνυν ἅπασα μὲν ἔχθρα πρὸς ἅπαντας ἐργῶδες καὶ χαλεπόν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτως ἀσθενὴς ἐχθρὸς ὅστις οὐκ ἐλύπησεν ἐπὶ καιροῦ καὶ τὸν ἄγαν φαινόμενον ἰσχυρὸν καὶ τὸ μῖσος ἐνεδείξατο ἢ λόγον τινὰ εἰπὼν λυπηρὸν ἢ ἔργον ἀσύμφορον πράξας.

12 Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, οὐδέποτε ἡδὺς οὐδὲ ὠφέλιμος ὁ τοῦ μίσους καρπός, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ἁπάντων ἀηδέστατος καὶ πικρότατος, οὐδὲ βάρος οὕτω χαλεπὸν οὐδὲ ἐπίπονον ὡς ἔχθρα[2] φέρειν. ταῖς μὲν οὖν εὐτυχίαις ἀεὶ παρενοχλεῖ,[3] τὰς δὲ συμφορὰς αὔξει, καὶ τῷ μὲν ἄλλο τι λυπουμένῳ τὴν λύπην ἀπεργάζεται διπλασίονα, τοὺς δὲ εὖ πράττοντας οὐκ ἐᾷ χαίρειν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν. ἀνάγκη γάρ, οἶμαι, τοὺς πολλοὺς[4] ὑπὸ μὲν ἀλλήλων βλάπτεσθαι,[5] παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδοξεῖν, ὡς τοῦτο μὲν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς ἐναντίων, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοὺς ἄφρονας καὶ φιλονίκους.

13 φιλίας δὲ καὶ ὁμονοίας οὐδὲν κάλλιον οὐδὲ θειότερον καὶ ἀνδρὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα καὶ πόλει πρὸς πόλιν.[6] τίνες μὲν γὰρ εὐπρεπέστερον κτῶνται τἀγαθὰ τῶν φίλων συμποριζόντων αὐτοῖς; τίνες δὲ ἀποφεύγουσι τὰ κακὰ ῥᾷον ἢ οἷς ἂν φίλοι συμμαχῶσι; τίνων δὲ ἧττον ἅπτεται τὰ λυπηρὰ ἢ τῶν ἐχόντων τοὺς συναλγοῦντας καὶ συμφέροντας αὐτοῖς; τίσι

[1] ἢ τὸν ἀέρα Reiske : ἢ τόνδε UB, ἧττον δὲ M.
[2] ἔχθρα Reiske: ἔχθραν.
[3] παρενοχλεῖ Selden : παρὸν ἐνοχλεῖ M, παρὼν ἐνοχλεῖ UB.
[4] τοὺς πολλοὺς] τοὺς τοιούτους Geel.
[5] βλάπτεσθαι Emperius : ἀνάπτεσθαι.
[6] πόλιν Reiske : ἰδιώτην.

mingle with them and welcome them to citizenship, what explanation remains except that they do not like each other's climate and the position of each other's city, or else—an unholy thing even to suggest—that they detest each other's gods? Furthermore, any enmity towards any people is an irksome, grievous thing. For there is no enemy so weak as not on occasion to hurt even the man who appears to be very strong, or to display his hatred by either saying some painful word or doing some injurious act.

For the fruit of hatred is never, so to speak, sweet or beneficial, but of all things most unpleasant and bitter, nor is any burden so hard to bear or so fatiguing as enmity. For example, while it always interferes with strokes of good fortune, it increases disasters, and while for him who suffers from something else it doubles the pain, it does not permit those who are enjoying good fortune to rejoice in fitting measure.[1] For it is inevitable, I suppose, that the masses should be harmed by one another, and, on the other hand, be despised and held in low esteem by the others, not only as having antagonists to begin with, but also as being themselves foolish and contentious. However, there is nothing finer or more godlike than friendship and concord, whether between man and man or between city and city. For who are they who acquire the good things of life more becomingly, when it is their friends who assist in supplying them? Who escape the bad things more easily than those who have friends as allies? Who are less affected by distress than those who have persons to share their suffering and to

[1] In §§ 11-12 there is the closest resemblance to Or. 40. 20-21.

δὲ ἥδιον τὸ εὐτυχεῖν ἢ ὅσοι μὴ μόνον αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους εὐφραίνουσιν εὖ πράττοντες; ὡς ἔγωγε οὐδ' ἂν εὐτυχεῖν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἄνδρα φαίην ὃς οὐδένα
14 ἔχει τὸν συνηδόμενον. τίς δὲ συνεργός, τίς δὲ σύμβουλος[1] ἀμείνων τοῖς ἰδοῦσιν ἢ φίλος ἐντυχών; σχεδὸν γὰρ οὗτος καὶ σύμβολος[2] οὐ μόνον εὐφημότατος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὠφελιμώτατος, καὶ[3] ὅτῳ ἂν ἐντύχῃ ἀνὴρ εὔνους. τὰ δὲ τοῦ μίσους καὶ τὰ τῆς ἔχθρας πανταχῇ λυπηρὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ. χαλεπὸν μὲν ἐν σπουδῇ, χαλεπὸν δὲ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ παρὼν ἐχθρός, λυπηρὸν μὲν ὁρῶσι, λυπηρὸν δὲ μνημονεύουσι, πολὺ δὲ πάντων πειρωμένοις βλαβερώτατον.

1 σύμβουλος] σύμβολος Arnim.
2 οὗτος καὶ σύμβολος Emperius: οὗτος σύμβουλος M, οὗτος ὁ σύμβουλος UB.
3 καὶ deleted by Emperius.

help them bear it? To whom is good fortune sweeter than to those who gladden by their success not only themselves but others too? For I would not count that man fortunate who has no one to share his pleasure. Again, what helper, what counsellor, is more welcome to behold than a friend met unexpectedly? In fact one might almost say that he is also an augury, not only most auspicious, but even most helpful, and to whomever he may meet a loyal friend.[1] But the works of hatred, indeed, and of enmity are painful and grievous everywhere. The presence of an enemy is a grievous thing, whether in a serious business or in the midst of good cheer, a painful thing to behold and painful to recall, but beyond all things most baneful to experience.

[1] Dio seems to be punning on σύμβολος and σύμβουλος. On the chance meeting as a ξύμβολον, cf. Aristophanes, *Birds* 719-721.

THE FORTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: AN ADDRESS IN HIS NATIVE CITY

This delightful little bit, obviously the introduction to a more pretentious performance, served to disarm the audience and make it sympathetic with the speaker. Its note of self-depreciation sounds quite modern. Incidentally, we get valuable information about the fate of literary works even in the lifetime of their authors, as well as about the activity of the booktrade and the low cost of its product.

Arnim asserts that our little "curtain-raiser" is unmistakably from Dio's philosophical period. Actually all that seems unmistakable about the piece is that its author either has achieved fame as a public speaker or thinks he has. The very title is not above suspicion, for the remarks which follow afford no clue to the identity of the speaker or to either place or occasion of delivery.

42. ΔΙΑΛΕΞΙΣ ΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ

1 Ὅπως μὲν ὑμεῖς διανοεῖσθε περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς εἴτε σοφίας εἴτε ἀμαθίας οὐ δύναμαι ξυμβαλεῖν, πότερον ὄντως ἐπιθυμεῖτε τῶν λόγων ὡς ἀκουσόμενοί τι θαυμαστὸν καὶ τοιοῦτον ὁποῖον οὐκ ἂν ἑτέρου τῶν νῦν, ἢ τοὐναντίον, ὡς ἐμὲ ἐξελέγξοντες καὶ ἀποδείξοντες οὐθὲν μέγα οὐδὲ σπουδαῖον
2 ἐπιστάμενον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἔχετε, θαρρῶν ὑμῖν παρέχω ἐμαυτόν, ἵνα ἐμπλήσητε τὴν προθυμίαν· εἰ δὲ μή, φοβοῦμαι τὴν ἐναντίαν δόξαν, μήποτε ἀκούσαντες ἔπειτα οὐ δικαίως ἐμοῦ καταγνῶτε, ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ[1] ὀρθῶς ἐδόξατε. οὐδέποτε γὰρ οὐδενὶ ἔγωγε τοῦτο ὑπεσχόμην, ὡς ἱκανὸς ὢν λέγειν ἢ φρονεῖν ἢ πλέον τι γιγνώσκειν τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τούτου διαμαχόμενος ἑκάστοτε καὶ ἀντιλέγων τοῖς ἀξιοῦσιν ἔπειτα εἰς τὸ λέγειν καθίσταμαι· καὶ πολλοὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἐπίδειξιν ἡγήσαντο.

3 Ὅμως δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑτέραν καὶ ἑτέραν λαμβάνω[2] ὁδόν. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἀπίδω καὶ τὴν

[1] αὐτοὶ οὐκ Emperius: οὐκ αὐτοί.
[2] λαμβάνω] ἐμβαίνω Selden.

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[1] Dio is referring to the opposing opinions of him mentioned in the preceding paragraph. His usage of the word ὁδόν may be compared with that of Herodotus (2. 20).

THE FORTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: AN ADDRESS IN HIS NATIVE CITY

What your purpose is about me and my wisdom—or folly, as the case may be—I can't imagine; whether you really want a speech from me with the expectation of hearing something wonderful, something the like of which you could not hear from any other man now living, or, just the reverse, with a view to showing me up and proving that I know nothing important or weighty. For if this is your purpose, I put myself at your disposal with full confidence, to the end that you may satisfy your desire; but if such is not the case, I am apprehensive as to the opposite opinion, lest when you have heard me you may pass unfavourable judgement upon me undeservedly, merely for the reason that you yourselves had formed an incorrect opinion about me. For I have never given any one to understand that I am an able speaker or thinker or that I possess more knowledge than the average; but on that very point I strongly insist, on every occasion, to those who ask me to speak, and I correct that false impression before settling down to my speech; and many consider this very protest of mine to be ostentation.

However that may be, I myself also take now this path and now that.[1] For, on the one hand, whenever I consider myself and my inexperience, my

ἀπειρίαν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ, περὶ πάντα μὲν ἁπλῶς, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους, ὡς ἰδιώτης ὢν διανοοῦμαι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἰδιώτου βίον βιωσόμενος· ὅταν δὲ εἰς τοὺς σπουδάζοντας καὶ παρακαλοῦντας, ὑπονοεῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἀναγκάζομαι, μὴ ἄρα τι τῶν ἐμῶν λόγου ἄξιον ᾖ[1] καὶ λανθάνω πεπονθὼς τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνίοις τῶν ζῴων, ἃ χρήσιμα ὄντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ δύναμίν τινα ἔχοντα ἐν αὑτοῖς πρὸς ἴασιν νοσημάτων, ἤτοι χολῆς ἢ αἵματος ἢ πιμελῆς ἢ τριχῶν, οὐκ ἴσασιν, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι εἰδότες διώκουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ πειρῶνται πάντα τρόπον συλλαβεῖν, οὐ τῶν κρεῶν ἕνεκεν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνης τῆς δυνάμεως.

4 Μὴ[2] ἄρα κἀμὲ ἀναγκάζουσιν[3] ἑκάστοτε λέγειν, οὐδὲν δεόμενοι τῶν λόγων, ἀλλ' ἑτέρου τινός. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο δύναμαι ὑπονοῆσαι, ὅτι ἀγνοοῦντες δὴ[4] καὶ ἀνήκοοι ὄντες ἐσπουδάκασιν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει πολλοὶ πολλῶν διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. πάντες γάρ, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τοὺς μὲν ἐμοὺς λόγους ἐπίστανται καὶ διαφέρουσιν αὐτοὺς ἄλλοι ἀλλαχοῦ, ὥσπερ τὰ φαῦλα ᾄσματα οἱ παῖδες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ᾄδουσι τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέραν· καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους σχεδὸν πάντες ἀλλήλοις ἀπαγγέλλουσιν, οὐχ ὅπως ἐρρήθησαν, ἀλλ' ἔτι βελτίους ποιήσαντες κατὰ τὴν αὑτῶν δύναμιν, οἱ μὲν ἑκόντες ἐπανορθούμενοι καὶ
5 —δῆλον ὅτι αἰσχυνόμενοι τὸ μεμνῆσθαι τοιούτων— ἀλλάττοντες καὶ μετατιθέντες πολλὰ καὶ κρείττονα,

[1] ᾖ added by Capps. [2] μὴ Geel: εἰ.
[3] ἀναγκάζουσιν] ἀναγκάζωσιν Geel. [4] δὴ Emperius: ἤδη.

[1] Pliny devotes books 28-30 and 32 of his *Historia Naturalis* to a catalogue of the medical uses to which animals

inexperience in simply everything, but especially in speaking, recognizing that I am only a layman, I am minded for the future to live the life of a layman; on the other hand, when I consider those who take me seriously and invite me to make a speech, I am constrained to feel suspicious of myself, lest some quality of mine may after all be worth while, and without being aware of it, I may be in the same position as certain members of the animal kingdom, which, though they are useful to mankind and have within them some power to cure diseases, whether it be a potency of bile or blood or fat or hair,[1] are unaware of it, while human beings, aware of this power, pursue and try in every way to capture them, not for the sake of their meat, but for that power of theirs.

Perhaps, then, in my case too people are always trying to make me speak, not because they have any need of my speech, but of something else. For I cannot imagine they have shown such interest in me from being ignorant and from never having heard me, as many no doubt desire many things because of ignorance. For almost all men are acquainted with my speeches, and they distribute them broadcast in all directions, just as lads in the cities sing cheap ditties at eventide. Moreover, almost all report my speeches to one another, not as they were delivered, but after having made them still better in accordance with their own ability, some making improvements purposely and—evidently being ashamed to remember such stuff—introducing numerous changes and rearrangements by way of

may be put, beginning with the elephant and ending with marine life.

οἱ δὲ ἴσως καὶ ἄκοντες διὰ τὸ μὴ σφόδρα μεμνῆσθαι· ὥστε οὐκέτι ὀβολοῦ, καθάπερ εἶπέ τις, εὔπορον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πρίασθαι τὴν ἐμὴν σοφίαν, ἀλλὰ κύψαντα ἀνελέσθαι χαμᾶθεν. σχεδὸν οὖν παραπλήσιον πεπόνθασιν οἱ ἐμοὶ λόγοι τῷ κεράμῳ τῷ Τενεδίῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν πᾶς μὲν ὁ παραπλέων ἐμβάλλεται κέραμον, οὐδεὶς δὲ ὑγιῆ διακομίζει ῥᾳδίως, ἀλλὰ[1] πολλοὶ σαθρὸν ποιήσαντες ἢ συντρίψαντες ὄστρακα ἔχοντες λανθάνουσιν αὑτούς.

[1] After ἀλλὰ Emperius adds οἱ.

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[1] Possibly a reminiscence of Plato, *Apology* 26 D, where Socrates, speaking of the writings of Anaxagoras, says: ἃ

betterment, while others possibly do so unconsciously through not remembering very well. And so one no longer buys my wisdom from the market in abundant supply at an obol, as somebody has it,[1] but instead one merely stoops and plucks it from the ground. One might almost say, therefore, that my speeches have had much the same fate as the pottery of Tenedos; for while all who sail that way put on board pottery from there, yet no one finds it easy to get it across in sound condition; but many crack or smash it, and ere they are aware they have naught but sherds.

ἔξεστιν ἐνίοτε, εἰ πάνυ πολλοῦ, δραχμῆς ἐκ τῆς ὀρχήστρας πριαμένοις Σωκράτους καταγελᾶν.

THE FORTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: A POLITICAL ADDRESS IN HIS NATIVE CITY

This Discourse, like the one preceding, is merely a prelude to a longer speech. As the title indicates, this prelude deals with political problems. In his concluding sentences Dio enumerates the separate counts in what he calls his *κρυφαία τις γραφή*, but various clues sprinkled here and there prove the scene to have been, not the courtroom, but a town meeting. However, Dio is on the defensive, if not against a formal indictment, still against slanders spread by an anonymous person, who appears to have been the tool and lackey of an official whom Dio labels *ἡγεμόνα πονηρόν*. This official Arnim identifies with that Julius Bassus whose conduct as proconsul of Bithynia figures largely in the correspondence of Pliny. If we may believe Dio (§ 11), that conduct would seem to deserve the name tyranny which he applies to it, but in the trial itself (A.D. 103 or 104) the only count on which Bassus was condemned was that of accepting bribes. It is assumed that the acts enumerated by Dio were held at Rome to have been in line with his official duty.

However, in the performance of that duty, Bassus seems to have found an all too zealous henchman in the person whom Dio pillories. The turbulence and unrest that characterized Bithynia as a whole at just this period undoubtedly gave an unscrupulous man, such as he appears to have been, ample opportunity both to satisfy personal grudges and to line his pocket. Dio's own reputation and connexions protected him against direct attack, but his foe seems to have tried covertly to undermine his reputation and thus to remove him from the scene as a champion of the common people, who were the man's natural victims. Dio had an unusual

sympathy for the disfranchised and under-privileged (cf. Or. 34. 21-23 and Or. 50. 3-4). It has been suggested that in the present instance he had displayed that sympathy by using his personal influence with Bassus during his proconsulship. If so, the malice of Dio's unnamed foe is understandable.

We have observed already that at the close of his remarks Dio professes to report certain charges on which he is to be tried. It is plain from the final sentence that these charges were to be aired in the argument to which our Discourse forms the prelude. However, Arnim points out that they really apply, not to Dio, but to his antagonist. Therefore, although we do not know clearly the business before the assembly which Dio is addressing, it may have concerned the attitude of Prusa toward the approaching trial of Bassus at Rome (cf. § 11). Possibly the journey which Dio says he must make (§ 8) is a journey to Rome for the purpose of influencing Trajan against Bassus, and Dio may have wished to carry with him some official message from Prusa.

43. ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΣ ΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ

1 Λυδῷ, φασί, πράγματα οὐκ ἦν, ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν ἐπρίατο. οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν Λυδὸς δικαίως πράγματα εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐπιθυμήσας, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶν πράγματα ἔχω δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀδυνάτων[1] καὶ φθονερῶν ἢ ὅτι δοκῶ στέργειν ὑμᾶς καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ πεποίηκα τὴν πατρίδα, ταῖς πρώταις ἴσην αὐτὴν ἀποδείξας τιμῆς ἕνεκα, τὰ[2] δὲ ποιήσω
2 θεοῦ διδόντος. καὶ τοῦτο εἶπον οὐκ ἀλαζονευόμενος ἄλλως—αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἴστε οὐδεπώποτε ὑπὲρ τούτων μνησθέντα με ἐν τοσούτοις λόγοις οὓς εἴρηκα ἐν ὑμῖν—ἀλλ' ἀμυνόμενος τοὺς ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑμῖν βασκαίνοντας, ἵνα, ἐὰν μὲν δυνατὸν ᾖ, διαρραγῶσιν, ὃ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ βέλτιστόν ἐστιν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλ' οὖν[3] ὀδυνηθῶσιν. ὅτι δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ[4] πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀηδῶς ἔχουσι καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὶ μάρτυ-

[1] ἀδυνάτων] ἀξυνετῶν Herwerden.
[2] τὰ Morel : τὸ. [3] ἀλλ' οὖν Emperius : μᾶλλον.
[4] οἱ αὐτοὶ Casaubon : αὐτοί.

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[1] Doubtless he refers to his efforts to beautify Prusa, a topic to which he frequently recurs in these Bithynian addresses, and also to the concessions which he had secured regarding Council and judiciary (cf. Or. 40. 15 and 33 and Or. 45. 7).

[2] Not strictly true unless the present speech antedates

THE FORTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: A POLITICAL ADDRESS IN HIS NATIVE CITY

According to the fable, a Lydian had no troubles, but he went out and bought some. Very well, the Lydian deserved to have troubles, seeing that he himself desired them; as for myself, on the other hand, although I have no desire for troubles, I have them because of ineffectual, envious fellows for no other reason than that I am thought to be fond of you, and because I have already done some good turns to my native city, having raised it to the level of the leading cities in the matter of distinction,[1] and, God willing, shall do it other good turns in the future. And I have said this, not as a bit of idle boasting —for you know yourselves that I have never referred to these services of mine in all the many speeches I have delivered in your hearing[2]—but rather in self-defence against those who eye with malice you and me, in order that, if such a thing is possible, they may burst with rage—which from the standpoint of the city as a whole is the best thing that could happen—or else that they may at least suffer pain. But that the same persons dislike me as dislike the city you yourselves can testify, if you

Or. 40, 45, and 47. It is true, however, that he has not stressed his services unduly.

ρές ἐστε, ἐὰν θέλητε μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τῶν φιλούντων ὑμᾶς καὶ τῶν μισούντων. καίτοι ἐπιεικέστερον ἐμοὶ χρῶνται ἢ ὑμῖν. ἐμοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἐνθάδε κατηγοροῦσιν, ὑμῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος.

3 Ἐὰν οὖν Ἑλληνικοῖς, ὥσπερ εἴωθα, φαίνωμαι παραδείγμασι χρώμενος, μὴ καταγελάσητε. οὐ γὰρ καταφρονῶ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδὲ ἀδυνάτους ὑμᾶς νομίζω αὐτοὺς συνιέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὐδὲ ἀπαίδευτον νομίζω οὔτε τὸν δῆμον οὔτε τὴν βουλήν. μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ὑμᾶς βούλομαι τὸ ἦθος Ἑλληνικὸν ἔχειν καὶ μήτε ἀχαρίστους μήτε ἀξυνέτους εἶναι[1]· εἰ δὲ μή, λόγων γε τοιούτων ἀκούειν οὐ χεῖρόν ἐστιν, ἐξ ὧν μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀμείνους ἂν γενέσθαι.

4 Τί δὴ οὖν τὸ παράδειγμα; ἦν τις ἄνθρωπος ἐν Θήβαις Ἐπαμεινώνδας λεγόμενος· οὗτος ἐφίλει τὴν πατρίδα πάντων μάλιστα· καιρῶν δὲ ἐπιλαβόμενος οἷοι τότε ἦσαν, πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα εὐεργέτησεν. ἀντὶ γὰρ δειλῶν καὶ ἀδυνάτων καὶ ἄλλοις ὑπακουόντων πρωτεύειν ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀντιποιεῖσθαι. τότε μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ἦν δυνατά, νῦν δ' ἕτεροι γεγόνασιν οἱ καιροί· πλὴν τά γε τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τῆς προθυμίας ἀεί ποτε ὅμοια. οἱ[2] γὰρ προδόται καὶ συκοφάνται καὶ πάντα

[1] εἶναι added by Reiske.
[2] ἀεί ποτε ὅμοια. οἱ Reiske: ἀεί ποτε ὅμοιοι UB, ἃ εἵπεται ὅμοιοι M.

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[1] An indication that he is speaking in Assembly and not in court.
[2] Dio not infrequently draws upon Greek tradition to point a moral, as will be seen by referring to the index of this and preceding volumes. That he was conscious that by so

care to recollect both those who love and those who hate you. And yet they treat me more fairly than they treat you; for they accuse me here, whereas they accuse you from the witness-box.[1]

Now if I am seen to employ illustrations from Greek history, as is my habit, don't jeer at me. For I am not showing scorn for my fatherland, nor do I suppose you to be incapable of understanding such matters for yourselves, nor do I regard either Assembly or Council as ignorant. Therefore, I desire most of all that you should have the character which is Greek and be neither ungrateful nor unintelligent; but if that is asking too much, it is at least not a bad plan to listen to words which, in my opinion, might improve your character.[2]

Very well then, what is my illustration? There was a certain man in Thebes called Epaminondas[3]; he loved his country above all else; and, seizing such opportunities as existed at that period, he performed for it many great services. For, instead of the craven, helpless, subservient people they had been, he made them foremost among the Greeks and contenders for leadership.[4] For in those days these things were possible, whereas to-day the times are different—though of course goodwill and devotion are always the same. For the breed of traitors and informers and persons who do anything to harm their

doing he might be thought to be making a parade of learning is plain not only from this passage but from others, e.g., Or. 50. 2.

[3] In spite of the rhetorical bouquet thrown to the people of Prusa in § 3, the words with which Epaminondas is here introduced make one wonder how much they really knew about him.

[4] Thebes was leader in Greece from Leuctra to Mantinea (371–362 B.C.).

πράττοντες κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τότε ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι· καὶ μὴν οἱ[1] φιλοῦντες τὰς πατρίδας καὶ τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς αὑτῶν μηδὲν κακὸν πάσχειν ἐθέλοντες καὶ τὰς πατρίδας αὔξειν φιλοτιμούμενοι τότε μὲν πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλα πράττοντες νῦν δὲ ἐλάττους[2] καὶ ἐλάττω ποιεῖν ἀγαθὰ δυνάμενοι.

5 Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνομοίων ἐμισεῖτο καί τινες ἦσαν οἱ διαβάλλοντες αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ὡς δῆμος, ἠγνόει καὶ ἀνεπείθετο, καί ποτε τῶν ἀπεγνωσμένων τις καὶ ἀτίμων καὶ ὅτε ἐδούλευεν ἡ πόλις καὶ ἐτυραννεῖτο πάντα κατ' αὐτῆς πεποιηκὼς[3] ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐλοιδόρει, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ ἔλεγε· πᾶς γὰρ ὁ ψευδόμενος[4] οὐχ ὅ τι ἀληθὲς εἴπῃ ζητεῖ, μηδέν γε ἀληθὲς λέγειν δυνάμενος, ἀλλ' εἴ τι χαλεπόν. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπαναστὰς περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ εἶπεν οὐδ' ἀπελογήθη πρὸς οὐδέν, μόνον δὲ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, τῇ δ' αὑτοῦ[5] φωνῇ βοιωτιάζων, Ἀλλά τοι Δαμάτηρ, ἔφη, κεχολωμένα γένοιτο. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἀκούσαντες ἥσθησαν καὶ ἐγέλασαν εἰκότως, ἀναμνησθέντες, οἶμαι, τῆς ἐκείνου πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίας καὶ τοῦ λοιδοροῦντος τῆς συκοφαντίας. 6 ἐγὼ γοῦν, εἴ τις λέγοι πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀνάξιον ἐμοῦ εἴτε ἄντικρυς εἴτε καὶ μετὰ σχήματος ἵνα δοκῇ ῥήτωρ, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ὢν εὐσχήμων αὐτός, ἀποκρινοῦμαι αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου ἀπόκρισιν.

[1] μὴν οἱ Capps, μὴν Arnim : νῦν.
[2] νῦν δὲ ἐλάττους added by Reiske.
[3] πεποιηκὼς] πεποιηκότων Reiske.
[4] ψευδόμενος] τοιοῦτος Arnim. [5] αὑτοῦ Arnim] αὐτοῦ.

fellow citizens existed in the cities even then; moreover, while patriots and men who do not wish their fellow citizens to suffer any harm and who are ambitious to exalt their country were plentiful then and performed mighty deeds, they are fewer now and not able to perform as many noble deeds.

However that may be, the famous Epaminondas was hated by those who were not like him, and there were some who maligned him, and the common people—as the common people will—did not understand and were misled. And on one occasion one of the desperate, disfranchised group, a fellow who had done any and every thing to harm the city when it was in slavery and ruled by a dictator, abused Epaminondas in town meeting and said many harsh things—for every man who is a liar seeks to discover, not what he can say that is true, being unable to say anything that is true, but rather something offensive. Now when Epaminondas himself in turn took the floor, he did not speak regarding the other matters, nor did he defend himself against a single charge, but he merely said to his accuser, speaking in his own Boeotian dialect, "May Damater be wroth wi' ye!" But the Thebans on hearing that were delighted and burst into laughter, as well they might, recalling, I suspect, the friendliness of Epaminondas toward the people and the scurvy conduct of the man who was trying to vilify him. Accordingly, if a certain person should say to me something I do not deserve, whether in plain terms or in figurative language to win renown as an orator —though his own figure is far from comely[1]—I shall use toward him the reply of Epaminondas.

[1] Dio is punning on σχήματος and εὐσχήμων.

Εὖ δ᾿ ἴστε ὅτι ταῦτα ποιοῦσι καὶ λέγουσι βαρυνόμενοι τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπιδημίαν δι᾿ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐνεδρεύω τινὰ τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτ᾿ ἀργύριον λαμβάνω παρά τινος οὔτε δασμολογεῖν ἕτοιμός εἰμι τὴν χώραν τὴν ὑμετέραν οὔτ᾿ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ φαίνομαί τινι ὀχληρός· οὐ γάρ εἰμι ῥήτωρ· οὐδὲ εἶπον ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς ἢ ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου δυστυχοῦς, ὃν ἐκώλυσα ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων διασπασθῆναι, πρότερον μὲν αὐτοῦ τὰ γράμματα ὑφῃρημένων καὶ πολλὰ τῆς οὐσίας διηρπακότων, ὕστερον δὲ κατα-
7 ψευδομαρτυρούντων· ἄλλην δὲ οὐδεμίαν εἴρηκα δίκην, ὥστε δι᾿ οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ βαρύς εἰμι. ἀλλ᾿ ἵνα, ἐάν ποτε γένηται καιρός, οἷον εὔχονταί τινες, ὅμοιος τῷ[1] πρότερον, οἷος οὐκ ἔσται· πλὴν εἰ γένοιτο, ἵνα μὴ παρῶ τῷ δήμῳ μηδὲ ἕξουσιν οἱ συκοφαντούμενοι τὸν παραιτούμενον ἢ συναλγοῦντα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσκόλως ἐμὲ φέρει τις ἐπιδημοῦντα.[2] καὶ γὰρ εἰ πλείους ἦσαν, ὥσπερ εἰσίν, οὐδεὶς ἐμοῦ φήσει μᾶλλον· ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχω παρρησίαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅσην οὐδείς. τῆς μὲν γὰρ εὐτυχίας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ παρεχώρησα ὑμῖν, τῆς δὲ δυστυχίας τῆς

[1] ὅμοιος τῷ Selden : ὁμοίως τῶν UB, ὅμως τῶν M.
[2] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο . . . ἐπιδημοῦντα placed by Arnim after μετέλαβον (top of p. 182), as being inappropriate to its present setting. Wilamowitz would delete καί.

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[1] See Introduction.
[2] The young man is otherwise unknown.
[3] The "crisis" probably occurred in the proconsulship of Bassus. At that time Dio seems to have defended certain members of the commons in town meeting. His confidence as to the future suggests that he has used his influence with Trajan, or else is about to do so.

But rest assured that they do and say these things because they are irked at my presence here in Prusa,[1] and for no other reason; for I do not lie in wait for any of the citizens, nor do I take pay from anybody, nor do I stand ready to levy tribute on your country, nor do I make myself a nuisance to anyone in the market-place—for I am no orator—nor have I defended anyone in court, save one luckless fellow alone whom I saved from being torn to pieces by his kinsmen and guardians, after they had first stolen his documents and pillaged much of his estate and afterwards tried by false witness to ruin him[2]; but I have spoken in no other case at law, so that I am in no respect offensive to any one. No, it is with the purpose that in case a crisis ever arises such as certain persons pray for, a crisis similar to that earlier one[3]—the kind that is not going to arise—but supposing that it should, the purpose is, I say, to prevent my being present to aid the commons, and to insure that the victims of blackmail shall not even have any one to intercede for them or to express sympathy for them; that, I repeat, is why a certain person is incensed that I am here in Prusa. For if there were several to assume that rôle—as indeed there are—no one would speak more readily than I; and I can speak to you more frankly than any one else. The reason is that I have both sacrificed for you my own good fortune[4] and also shared with you

[4] On several occasions Dio speaks of sacrificing his own interests to the welfare of the state, meaning his preoccupation with public business to the neglect of his own property, e.g., Or. 47. 20; but here he may well be referring to his recent visit at the court of Trajan, when he neglected to make personal capital out of the Emperor's friendship in order to secure favours for Prusa (Or. 45. 3).

8 ὑμετέρας μετέλαβον. καὶ νῦν δεῖ με ἀποδημεῖν,
οὐχ ὡς πρότερον ἀλύπως, πάντων με ἀγαπώντων
καὶ θαυμαζόντων, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἔχθρας τινῶν· ἐπεὶ
αὐτός γε οὐδὲν ἔπαθον κακόν·

> οὐ γάρ πώποτ' ἐμὰς βοῦς ἤλασαν οὐδὲ μὲν ἵππους.

Οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω τὰ παρόντα πράγματα· ἐπεὶ
καὶ Σωκράτης ἐκεῖνος, οὗ μέμνημαι πολλάκις, ἐν
μὲν τῇ τυραννίδι τῶν τριάκοντα ἔπραττε πάντα
ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν κακῶν οὐδενὸς ἐκοινώ-
νησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεμφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Λέοντα
τὸν Σαλαμίνιον οὐχ ὑπήκουσε, καὶ τοῖς τυράννοις
ἄντικρυς ἐλοιδορεῖτο, λέγων ὁμοίους εἶναι τοῖς
πονηροῖς βουκόλοις, οἳ παραλαβόντες ἰσχυρὰς τὰς
βοῦς[1] καὶ πολλάς, ὀλίγας καὶ ἀσθενεστέρας ποιοῦ-
9 σιν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, δι' ὃν ἐκινδύνευεν,
ὕστερον εὖ πράττοντος διαβληθεὶς ὑπὸ συκοφαντῶν
τινων ἀπέθανεν. ἦν δὲ ὁ κατήγορος Μέλητος,
βδελυρὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ συκοφάντης. Ἀδικεῖ, φη-
σί, Σωκράτης, τοὺς νέους διαφθείρων καὶ οὓς μὲν
ἡ πόλις θεοὺς τιμᾷ μὴ τιμῶν, ἕτερα δὲ εἰσάγων
καινὰ δαιμόνια· σχεδὸν αὐτὰ τἀναντία[2] οἷς ἐποίει
10 Σωκράτης. ἐτίμα τε γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς οὐδεὶς

[1] βοῦς Dindorf: βόας.
[2] τἀναντία Dindorf: ταῦτα ἐναντία.

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[1] Presumably his journey to Rome to congratulate Trajan, A.D. 100.

[2] *Iliad* 1. 154, spoken by Achilles to Agamemnon. This quotation is an indication that the coming journey to which he has just referred involved no selfish interest. It seems likely that Dio planned to go to Rome to use his influence against Bassus and his henchman in the trial which was soon

your ill fortune. And now I must leave my country, not, as on that other occasion,[1] without repining, attended as I then was by the affection and admiration of all, but rather attended by the enmity of some; since I myself have suffered no harm,

For never did they lift my cows or mares.[2]

However, I am not surprised at my present troubles; since even the famous Socrates, whom I have often mentioned, during the tyranny of the Thirty[3] did everything in behalf of the people and took no part in the crimes of that régime, but, when ordered by the Thirty to fetch Leon of Salamis, he refused to obey, and he openly reviled the tyrants, saying they were like wicked herdsmen, who, having received the cows when strong and numerous, make them few and weaker[4]; but nevertheless it was by the government of the people, on whose account he then risked his life, that later on when that government was flourishing, because he had been slandered by certain informers, he was put to death.[5] Now his accuser was Meletus, a loathsome fellow, and a liar too. Said he, "Socrates is guilty of corrupting the young men and of not honouring the deities whom the city honours but of introducing other new divinities"[6]—virtually the very opposite to what Socrates was wont to do. For not only did he

to take place. That would account for the phrase "attended by the enmity of some."

[3] 404 B.C.

[4] Plato, *Apology* 32 C–D, records the Leon episode. The reproof of the Thirty is given by Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 1. 2. 32.

[5] 399 B.C.

[6] Dio's version of the charge is nearly identical with *Apology* 24 B.

ἄλλος καὶ παιᾶνα ἐποίησεν εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν, τοῦτον ὃν ἐγὼ ἔτι καὶ[1] νῦν ᾄδω,[2] καὶ τοὺς νέους ἐκώλυε διαφθείρεσθαι οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ὀνειδίζων καὶ προφέρων αὐτοῖς, εἴ τις ἄπληστος ἢ ἀκόλαστος ἢ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἠργολάβει, τοὺς μὲν ἀπολύων ἐπ'[3] ἀργυρίῳ, τοὺς δὲ συκοφαντῶν, τοὺς δὲ νησιώτας τοὺς ταλαιπώρους λεηλατῶν ἐπὶ προφάσει φόρων ἢ καταλογῇ στρατιωτῶν, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι ποιοῦσι παρ' ἡμῖν. διὰ ταῦτα μισοῦντες αὐτὸν ἔφασαν διαφθείρειν τοὺς νέους.

11 Ἡ δ' ἐμὴ γραφὴ μείζων καὶ γενναιοτέρα σχεδὸν ἦν, κρυφαία[4] τις, ὡς ἔοικεν· Ἀδικεῖ Δίων, τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς μὴ τιμῶν μήτ' ἐν θυσίαις μήτ' ἐν ὕμνοις, καταλύων τὰς πατρίους ἑορτάς, ἀναπείσας δὲ ἡγεμόνα πονηρὸν ὥστε τὸν μὲν δῆμον βασανίσαι καὶ ἐξελάσαι ὅσους ἂν δύνηται πλείστους, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι, παρασχὼν ἀνάγκην αὐτοῖς ἑκουσίως ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι πρεσβύτας ὄντας φυγεῖν μηδὲ ὑπομένειν καταλιπεῖν τὴν πατρίδα· συμπράττων δὲ[5] καὶ νῦν ἅπαντα τῷ τυραννήσαντι τοῦ ἔθνους,[6] καὶ ὅπως ἐκεῖνος καλῶς ἀγωνιεῖται

[1] ἔτι καὶ added by Capps.
[2] τοῦτον . . . ᾄδω deleted by Emperius.
[3] ἐπ' Valesius : ἐν.
[4] κρυφαία] κρύφα M, κορυφαία Morel.
[5] δὲ Reiske : τε. [6] τοῦ ἔθνους Arnim : τοὺς θεούς.

[1] Diogenes Laertius (2. 5. 22) preserves a single line from a hymn in which these deities are named, and says that Dionysodorus denied that Socrates was its author.

honour the gods more than did anybody else, but he had composed a hymn in praise of Apollo and Artemis, this paean which even now I myself am wont to chant,[1] and he tried to prevent, not merely the young men, but their elders too, from being corrupted, rebuking and reproving them, in case any one was greedy or licentious or tried to make money out of politics, some by arranging an acquittal for a bribe, some by blackmailing people, and some by pillaging the wretched islanders on the pretext of tribute[2] or in connexion with the drafting of soldiers, just as some men are doing in Prusa. This is why they hated him and claimed he was corrupting the young men.

But my bill of indictment[3] was longer and, one might say, nobler, a sort of occult bill apparently: "Dio is guilty, first, of not honouring the gods either with sacrifices or with hymns, by abolishing the festivals of our fathers; secondly, of so misleading a wicked proconsul[4] as to cause him to torture the people and to banish as many as possible, and even to put some to death, making it necessary for them to die a voluntary death because, old as they were, they could not go into exile or endure to abandon their native land; thirdly, of co-operating in everything even now with the man who took the rôle of tyrant over our nation, and of arranging, so far as it is in his power to arrange, that that tyrant shall be suc-

[2] A scholium on Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 6, reports that Cleon was detected at that trick and made to disgorge. Presumably he had taken bribes to lower the assessment of some of the member states. "Islanders" was the usual term applied to the states allied with Athens in the fifth century B.C.

[3] See Introduction.

[4] Presumably Bassus. See Introduction.

καὶ κατὰ κράτος παραλήψεται τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς δήμους κατασκευάζων, ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατα-
12 σκευάζειν· διαφθείρων δὲ καὶ τὸν δῆμον αὐτὸν[1] ἐφιστάμενος κατήγορος καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ῥήμασι καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ παρανομῶν εἰς τοὺς πολίτας, εἰς τοὺς δημότας, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα ποιῶν ἃ αἰσχύνομαι καθ' ἕκαστον λέγειν· πονηρὸν δὲ παράδειγμα παρέχων ἑαυτὸν καὶ νεωτέροις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις ἀπονίας[2] καὶ τρυφῆς[3] καὶ ἀπιστίας· δεκάζων δὲ τὸ πλῆθος, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτῷ προφέρῃ τὰ τότε πραχθέντα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μίσους καὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς λήθην τινὰ ποιήσωνται.

Φέρε δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπολογήσομαι, ὦ ἄνδρες Προυσαεῖς, κἂν δοκῇ ὑμῖν ἀκούσασι, κατεψηφίσασθέ μου· καὶ γὰρ τοῦ Σωκράτους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούσαντες κατεψηφίσαντο.

[1] αὐτὸν Crosby : αὐτός. [2] ἀπονίας Geel : ἀπορίας. [3] τρυφῆς Reiske : τροφῆς.

[1] Apparently the henchman of Bassus is trying to marshal

cessful in his struggle and shall take by force the cities and their popular governments [1]; fourthly, of spoiling even democracy itself, setting himself up as its accuser, and with his own words and tongue committing crimes against his fellow citizens, yes, the members of his own community, and doing many other things which I am ashamed to specify; fifthly, of making himself a bad example of laziness and high-living and faithlessness for both young and old; and sixthly, of bribing the masses, so that no one may reproach him with what was done in those days,[2] but that people may instead acquire a sort of forgetfulness of his hatred and treachery.

Well then, men of Prusa, I shall defend myself against these charges,[3] and if it seems good to you when you have heard me, condemn me; for the Athenians heard Socrates before they condemned him.

in defence of his master as many Bithynians as possible. The language here used by Dio is manifestly figurative.

[2] I.e., in the proconsulship of Bassus.

[3] As in the case of the charges which Dio disclaims in § 6, this bill of indictment also may be assumed to apply, not to Dio, but to his arch-enemy.

THE FORTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: AN ADDRESS OF FRIENDSHIP FOR HIS NATIVE LAND ON ITS PROPOSING HONOURS FOR HIM

Internal evidence makes it fairly certain that this Discourse was delivered in the winter of A.D. 96–97, shortly after Dio's return from his long exile of fourteen years. The occasion was a town meeting at which it was proposed to accord him certain unnamed honours. These honours he modestly deprecates, pointing out that Prusa has honoured him sufficiently in having honoured various members of his family. Taking advantage of the present temper of his audience, he then urges the advisability of a reform in the conduct of the citizens. Though he is adroit in making his plea, it is abundantly evident from other speeches in this group that such a plea was warranted, for Prusa, in common with other cities of the province, was in a state of social and political upheaval. It is hinted that such reform is a necessary prerequisite to securing the concessions alluded to in § 11.

At the conclusion of his remarks, he announces that he is going to read to his hearers some correspondence between himself and the Emperor. Unfortunately that correspondence has not been preserved, but it becomes reasonably certain from Or. 45. 2-3 that his imperial correspondent was Nerva, with whom he was on very friendly terms, and that their exchange of letters concerned, not only an invitation to visit Rome, but also certain aspirations on the part of Prusa, aspirations thwarted temporarily by Nerva's untimely death.

44. ΦΙΛΟΦΡΟΝΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ ΕΙΣΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΗΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΤΙΜΑΣ

1 Ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες πολῖται, οὔτε ὄψις ἡδίων ἐστὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας οὔτε φωνὴ προσφιλεστέρα οὔτε τιμαὶ μείζους τῶν ἐνθάδε οὔτε ἔπαινος λαμπρότερος ἢ ὁ παρ' ὑμῶν· οὐδ' ἂν ξύμπαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος, ἐμὲ θαυμάζωσι καὶ ἐπαινῶσιν, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως τοῦτο εὐφράναι τὴν ἐμὴν διάνοιαν. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πολλὰ σοφὰ καὶ θεῖα εἰρηκὼς Ὅμηρος οὐδὲν σοφώτερον ἔφη τούτου τοῦ ἔπους οὐδὲ ἀληθέστερον,

ὡς οὐδὲν γλύκιον ἧς πατρίδος.

2 εὖ μέντοι ἐπίστασθε ὅτι τὰς τιμὰς ἔχω πάσας, καὶ ὅσας νῦν εἰσηγεῖσθε καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλαι εἰσίν, ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ φιλίᾳ καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ἐγὼ δέομαι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ ἱκανώτατον ἐπιεικεῖ, τὸ ἀγαπᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὑτοῦ πολιτῶν, καὶ ὁ τοῦτο ἔχων τί ἂν ἔτι προσδέοιτο εἰκόνων ἢ κηρυγμάτων ἢ προεδριῶν;[1] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χρυσοῦς σφυρήλατος

[1] At this point Arnim suspects a lacuna, which he would supply by some such phrase as οὐδὲ γὰρ πλέον ἂν ἔχοι οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τούτων.

THE FORTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: AN ADDRESS OF FRIENDSHIP FOR HIS NATIVE LAND ON ITS PROPOSING HONOURS FOR HIM

Fellow citizens, no sight is more delightful to me than your faces, no voice dearer than yours, no honours greater than those you bestow, no praise more splendid than praise from you. Even if the whole Greek world, and the Roman people too, were to admire and to praise me, that would not so cheer my heart.[1] For though, in truth, Homer has spoken many wise and divine words, he never spoke a wiser or a truer word than this:

For naught is sweeter than one's native land.[2]

Indeed, you may rest assured that I find all my honours, both those you now propose and any others there may be, contained in your goodwill and friendship, and I need naught else. For it is quite sufficient for a reasonable human being to be loved by his own fellow citizens, and why should the man who has that love need statues too or proclamations or seats of honour? Nay, not even if it be a portrait statue of beaten gold set up in the most distinguished

[1] He had been honoured at Rome and in many other cities. Cf. Or. 41. 2 and 44. 6.

[2] *Odyssey* 9. 34.

ἱστάμενος ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις ἱεροῖς. ἓν γὰρ ῥῆμα πλείονος ἄξιον ἀπ' εὐνοίας ῥηθὲν καὶ φιλίας ἢ τὸ ξύμπαν ἐν ἀνθρώποις χρυσίον καὶ στέφανοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὅσα δοκεῖ λαμπρά· ὥστε μοι πειθόμενοι οὕτω ποιεῖτε.

3 Εἰ δὲ ἄρα καὶ τοιαύτας τινὰς δεῖ με τιμὰς ἔχειν, πολλαί μοι καὶ ἄλλαι εἰσὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, τοῦτο μὲν αἱ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ὅσαις ἐκεῖνον ἐτιμήσατε ὡς ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὅσον ἔζη χρόνον δικαίως προεστῶτα τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς μητρός, ἧς ὑμεῖς ἱδρύσασθε καὶ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἱερόν, τοῦτο δὲ αἱ τῶν πάππων καὶ αἱ τῶν ἄλλων προγόνων, ἔτι
4 δὲ αἱ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγγενῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἀνδριάντας πολλοὺς καὶ ταφὰς δημοσίας καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ τίμια[1] ἐκείνοις παρὰ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως γέγονεν—ὧν[2] οὐδενὸς ἐγὼ ἐπιλέλησμαι, ἀλλὰ ἐπίσταμαι πάντα ὡς οἷόν τε μάλιστα—καὶ οἶμαι τὰς ὑπὲρ τούτων χάριτας αὐτὸς ὑμῖν ὀφείλειν, καὶ εὔχομαι τοῖς θεοῖς ἱκανὸς γενέσθαι ἀποτίνειν. πολλοῦ[3] μὲν γὰρ ἐπίσταμαι κἀκείνους γενομένους ἀξίους καὶ δικαίως ἁπάντων τυχόντας, ὅμως δὲ ἐν ἅπασιν ὑπερέβαλεν

[1] After τίμια Arnim adds ἃ. [2] ὧν deleted by Arnim.
[3] πολλοῦ Casaubon : πολλούς.

[1] The phrase " of beaten gold " shows that Dio is thinking of the famous golden statue said to have been dedicated by Cypselus, tyrant of Corinth, at Olympia. That statue was referred to by Plato, *Phaedrus* 236 B, and by many later writers. According to one account, Cypselus vowed that if he became tyrant of Corinth he would consecrate the wealth of his subjects for ten years ; and out of the tithes he secured

shrines.[1] For one word spoken out of goodwill and friendship is worth all the gold and crowns and everything else deemed splendid that men possess; so take my advice and act accordingly.

But if really I must have some such honours also, I have here at Prusa many other honours already—in the first place, those belonging to my father, all those honours bestowed upon him for being a good citizen and for administering the city with uprightness as long as he lived; then, too, those belonging to my mother, in whose memory you not only set up a statue but also established a shrine[2]; furthermore, the honours bestowed upon my grandsires[3] and my other ancestors; and more than that, the honours possessed by my brothers[4] and other kinsmen. For numerous statues and state funerals and funeral games and many other precious marks of distinction have been accorded them by this city—none of which have I forgotten, nay, I know them all as well as any man could—and I feel that I myself owe you the thanks for these honours, and I pray the gods I may be able to discharge the debt. For though I know they proved themselves very worthy and had a right to all they received, still the city was more than gener-

he made a statue of Zeus and set it up in the temple of Hera. The dedicatory inscription ran as follows:

> εἰμὶ ἐγὼ χρυσοῦς σφυρήλατος, εἰμὶ κολοσσός,
> ἐξώλης εἴη Κυψελιδῶν γενεά.

[2] A surprising honour of which nothing further is known.

[3] Dio seems to include both grandfathers; but we get explicit information about the maternal grandfather alone, of whom he says that he was a man of cultivation, public-spirited, generous, and a friend of an earlier emperor (Or. 41. 6, 44. 5, 46. 3-4, and 50. 7).

[4] Nothing further is known of these brothers.

ἡ πόλις. καὶ γὰρ ὅσα οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν βουληθέντες διὰ τύχην τινά, καὶ τούτων αὐτοῖς χάριν ἀπεδίδου
5 ἡ πατρίς. ὁ γοῦν πάππος ὁ ἐμός, εἰ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀπώνατο τῆς φιλίας τοῦ τότε αὐτοκράτορος, ἀλλὰ μὴ βραχὺς παντελῶς ἐγένετο ὁ[1] χρόνος, διενοεῖτο, ὥς φασιν, ἐλευθερίαν τῇ πόλει λαβεῖν καὶ ἤδη περὶ τούτου πεποίητο τὸν λόγον. οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀπελπίζειν, ἕως ἂν ἀγαθοὺς καὶ φιλοτίμους ἄνδρας ἡ πόλις φέρῃ ὁποίους καὶ τοὺς νῦν. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν πολλαῖς γεγονὼς πόλεσιν οὐκ οἶδα βελτίους ἄνδρας τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν.

Ἔλεγον δ' ἂν ἐπὶ πλέον καθ' ἕκαστον, εἰ μὴ σχεδὸν ἅπαντας συγγενεῖς ὄντας ὤκνουν ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ ὥσπερ ἔρανόν τινα ἀποδιδοὺς τῶν εἰς ἐμαυτὸν
6 ἕνεκα τιμῶν. ἠκροασάμην γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτων καίτοι σφόδρα αἰδούμενος ὅμως διὰ τοὺς λέγοντας αὐτούς, ἀγάμενος τῶν ἀνδρῶν τό τε ἄφθονον καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν περὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν δύναμιν. οὐ δὴ[2] θαυμαστόν, εἰ ἐγὼ πατρίδα τοιαύτην οὕτω σφόδρα ἠγάπηκα ὥστε οὔτ' ἂν Ἀθήνας οὔτε Ἄργος οὔτε Λακεδαίμονα, αἵπερ εἰσὶ πρῶται καὶ ἐνδοξόταται τῶν Ἑλληνίδων, εἱλόμην ἂν εἶναί μοι πατρίδας πρὸ ταύτης· καὶ τοῦτο ἔργῳ ἐδήλωσα. πολλῶν γὰρ πολλαχῇ παρακαλούντων με καὶ μένειν καὶ προΐστασθαι τῶν κοινῶν οὐ νῦν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε ἤμην φυγάς—καὶ[3] ψηφίσματα

[1] ὁ added by Reiske. [2] οὐ δὴ Pflugk : οὐδὲ.
[3] After καὶ Arnim adds γάρ.

[1] Cf. § 12.
[2] Apparently speakers who have supported the proposal to honour him.

ous in each instance. For their fatherland thanked them even for all they wished, but through some turn of fortune proved unable, to accomplish. For example, if my grandfather had enjoyed the friendship of the emperor of that day for a longer period and if the time left to him had not been altogether brief, he had in mind, as I am told, to obtain independence for Prusa,[1] and indeed he had already drafted his plea to that end. However, there is no need to abandon hope so long as the city continues to bear noble, patriotic men such as those it bears to-day. For though I have been in many cities, I do not know better men than the men of Prusa.

Now I might go on to speak at some length of individuals, were it not that, since virtually all are my kinsmen, I shrink from the task of praising them, even though I should be making to each and all a contribution, as it were, due in return for the honours paid to me. For, indeed, I have listened to these men too[2]—though greatly awed on account of the speakers themselves, admiring their generosity and their devotion, and, what is more, their gift of eloquence. No wonder, then, if I myself[3] have loved such a fatherland so greatly that I would not have chosen either Athens or Argos or Sparta, the foremost and most distinguished of the Greek cities, as my native land in preference to Prusa; and I have given practical demonstration of this too. For although many people in many lands have invited me both to make my home with them and to take charge of their public affairs, not merely at the present time, but even earlier, at the time when I was an exile—and some went so far as to send the

[3] I.e., as well as his ancestors and relatives.

ἔπεμψάν τινες πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα χάριν εἰδότες τῆς εἰς ἐμὲ τιμῆς—οὐδὲ πώποτε ἄχρι λόγου τὸ τοιοῦτον ὑπεσχόμην, ἀλλ' οὐδ' οἰκίαν ἢ χωρίον ἐκτησάμην παρ' ἑτέροις, ὡς μηδὲν ᾖ μοι σημεῖον ἀλλαχοῦ πατρίδος.

7 Καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴη δεινόν, εἰ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀδικώτεροι ἔσονται τῶν μελιττῶν. οὐδέποτε γὰρ ἐκείνων μία καταλιποῦσα τὸ αὑτῆς σμῆνος εἰς ἕτερον μετέστη τὸ μεῖζον ἢ μᾶλλον εὐθενοῦν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἴδιον ἑσμὸν πληροῖ τε καὶ αὔξει, κἂν ψυχρότερον ᾖ τὸ χωρίον καὶ αἱ νομαὶ χείρους καὶ ἡ δρόσος ἐλάττων κἂν δυσκολώτερον τὸ ἔργον τὸ περὶ τὰ κηρία[1] κἂν ὁ γεωργὸς ἀμελέστερος. οὕτως δὲ ἄγαν αὐτάς φασι φιλεῖν ἀλλήλας καὶ τὸ ἴδιον σμῆνος ἑκάστην, ὥστε ἐπειδὰν ἔξω[2] χειμῶνος ἀποληφθῶσι πολλοῦ γενομένου πνεύματος, λίθον εἰς τοὺς πόδας ἑκάστη λαβοῦσα ὥσπερ ἕρμα οὕτως πέτονται, ὅπως μὴ παρενεχθῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος μηδὲ τοῦ σμήνους διαμάρτωσιν.

8 Ὅταν δὲ δὴ καὶ πρόθυμον οὕτως καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἔχῃ τις πατρίδα, πῶς οὐ χρὴ πάντα τἄλλα περὶ ἐλάττονος ποιεῖσθαι ταύτης; ἃ ἐγὼ λογιζόμενος χαίρω, ὁρῶν καὶ τὸν υἱέα τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νεανίσκους—πολλοὺς δὲ ὁρῶ σὺν θεῷ καὶ ἅπαντας ἀγαθῶν γονέων καὶ τό γε εἶδος ἀγαθοῖς ὁμοίους—οὕτως διανοουμένους ὡς φιλο-

[1] κηρία Emperius : χωρία.
[2] After ἔξω Reiske adds ὑπό. Wendland would cure the trouble by reading σμήνους for χειμῶνος, Sonny by substituting μελιττῶνος. Emperius regards πολλοῦ . . . πνεύματος as a gloss.

[1] If this Discourse has been dated correctly, the Emperor

Emperor resolutions thanking him for the honour he had done me [1]—yet I never accepted such a proposal even by so much as a single word, but I did not even acquire a house or a plot of ground anywhere else, so that I might have nothing to suggest a home-land anywhere but here.

For indeed it would be shocking if human beings are to prove more unjust than bees. For no bee ever abandons its own hive and shifts to another which is larger or more thriving, but it rounds out and strengthens its own swarm, no matter if the district be colder, the pasturage poorer, the nectar scantier, the work connected with the honeycomb more difficult, and the farmer more neglectful. But, according to report, so great is their love for one another and of each for its own hive, that when they are caught outside the hive in winter and a great wind springs up, they each seize with their feet a pebble as if for ballast before beginning to fly, so that they may not be borne astray by the gale or miss their hive.[2]

But when a man has a country which is both so devoted and so fine, why should he not regard all else as of minor importance? Taking all this into account, I rejoice to see my own son, my nephew, and the other young men too—and by God's grace I see many who one and all are both of goodly lineage and, at least in personal appearance, resemble goodly men—I rejoice, I say, to see them aiming

would be Nerva. The honour referred to would no doubt be Dio's recall from exile, although Nerva also asked him to visit him at Rome.

[2] For the ancient belief that cranes carried stones for ballast, see Aristophanes, *Birds* 1136-1137. Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* 8. 14. 5, calls the belief false.

νικήσοντας ἀλλήλοις ἄνευ φθόνου καὶ ζηλοτυπίας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐδοξίας τῆς τε αὑτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὅπως πρωτεύσῃ ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τῷ δίκαιός τε εἶναι καὶ φιλόπολις καὶ μὴ ἀδύνατος ἀγαθόν τι
9 ποιεῖν καὶ αὔξειν τὴν πατρίδα. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι οὐ μεγίστη τῶν πόλεων οὖσα οὐδὲ πλεῖστον χρόνον οἰκουμένη πολλῶν γνωριμωτέρα ἐστὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, καὶ σχεδόν τι πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀγωνιουμένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας πάλαι παρέχει τοὺς αὑτῆς πολίτας οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ὑστάτοις οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς τρίτοις ἢ δευτέροις ἀριθμουμένους. λέγω δὲ οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ τοῦτον ἐγὼ τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἀποδημήσαντες καὶ πλείοσι φανεροὶ γενόμενοι φανερὰν τὴν δόξαν ἐκτήσαντο, οἱ δὲ ἐνθάδε πολιτευόμενοι καὶ μένοντες οὐδὲν χείρους ἐκείνων εἰσὶν οὔτε περὶ τοὺς λόγους οὔτε περὶ τὰ ἔργα.

10 Ὁρῶ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ λόγων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ἀξιολόγους γιγνομένους ἐν τῇ πόλει· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοὺς νέους καὶ κοινῇ, ὅταν ᾖ καιρός, οὐκ ὀκνήσω παρακαλεῖν. καὶ τὸν δῆμον ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ, ἃ μὲν ἔστι παρὰ τῶν κρατούντων, ταῦτα ἐλπίζειν ὡς ἐσόμενα καὶ εὔχεσθαι συμβαίνειν τινὰ τιμὴν ἢ δόξαν ἢ εὐπορίαν χρημάτων· ἃ δὲ ἔστι παρ' αὑτῶν,[1] ἔχειν εὐταξίᾳ τῶν ἄλλων δήμων διαφέροντας, αἰδοῖ, τῷ

[1] αὑτῶν Post: αὐτῶν.

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[1] Pliny, *Letters* 10. 23, speaks of the *dignitas* of Prusa.
[2] He has paid his respects to the orators in § 6.
[3] The imperial government.
[4] In § 11 he is more explicit as to Prusan ambitions.

without envy and jealousy to vie with one another, and with all other men as well, concerning character and good repute both their own and that of their country too, and also striving that each may gain first rank in his fatherland for being just and patriotic and not incapable of promoting his country's welfare. For you may rest assured that, although Prusa is not the largest of our cities and has not been settled for the longest time, it is more illustrious than many, even in the estimation of the outside world, and that it has long caused its citizens to rank, not last, or even third or second, in competition with virtually all Greeks everywhere.[1] And I say this, not for my own sake, but rather for the sake of the others, some of whom through foreign travel and through becoming notable men in a number of countries have gained a notable renown, while others through performing their civic duties here and remaining at home are not inferior to those just mentioned in either speech or action.

But I observe that it is not from the pursuit of eloquence alone [2] but also from the pursuit of wisdom that men of character and distinction are being produced here in Prusa; and I shall not hesitate to exhort our young men in behalf of these things both in private and in public whenever there is opportunity. And I ask of you the people that, as to privileges which must come from our rulers,[3] you cherish the hope of their realization and pray that some measure of honour or fame or affluence may accrue [4]; but that, on the other hand, as regards the blessings which must come from yourselves, you possess them by being superior to the other self-governed communities in orderly behaviour, in re-

πείθεσθαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, φιλεργίᾳ,[1] σωφροσύνῃ τῇ περὶ τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν βίον, τῷ μήτε τῶν σωμάτων ἀμελεῖν μήτε τῆς ψυχῆς καθ' ὅσον ἑκάστῳ σχολὴν δίδωσι τὰ αὑτοῦ πράγματα, τῷ προθύμως ἐκτρέφειν τέκνα καὶ παιδεύειν, τῷ παρέχειν Ἑλληνικὴν τῷ ὄντι καὶ ἀθόρυβον καὶ καθεστῶσαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ δριμὺ καὶ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον τῆς φύσεως καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν ἐπὶ τὰ μείζω καὶ καλλίω τρέπειν, διχοφροσύνης δὲ καὶ ταραχῆς καὶ τοῦ προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις ὡς οἷόν τε ἀπέχεσθαι.

11 Ἔστι γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ δήμου παιδεία καὶ πόλεως ἦθος φιλόσοφον καὶ ἐπιεικές. καὶ οὐ μόνον Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδὲ Ἀθηναίοις τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ συνέβη διὰ τὸ κοσμίως πολιτεύεσθαι μεγάλας καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ[2] ἐκ πάνυ μικρῶν καὶ ἀσθενῶν ἀποδεῖξαι τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν νῦν ἔξεστι τὸ τοιοῦτον τοῖς βουλομένοις. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐπιτηδεύοντας πλέον ὀνήσει καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν τὰ πράγματα ἄγεσθαι καὶ τοῦ πρόσοδόν τινα χρημάτων ἔξωθεν ὑμῖν ὑπάρξαι καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτῆς, ἐὰν ἄρα
12 καὶ τούτου τύχητέ ποτε. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι τὴν μὲν λεγομένην ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦθ', ὃ παρὰ τῶν κρατούντων καὶ δυναμένων γίγνεται, ἐνίοτε[3] οὐ

[1] φιλεργίᾳ Reiske : φιλεργίαις.
[2] καὶ deleted by Arnim.
[3] γίγνεται, ἐνίοτε Pflugk : ἐνίοτε γίγνεται.

[1] Dio had had experience of the turbulence of the people of Prusa. Note especially Or. 46.
[2] Dio did later obtain for Prusa an enlarged Council and

spect for others, in obedience to your men of character, in industry, in temperance in your daily lives, in neglecting neither your bodies nor your souls, insofar as each man's private circumstances grant him leisure, in devotion to the task of rearing and educating your children, in making your city truly Hellenic, free from turmoil, and stable, and in devoting your native shrewdness and courage and intelligence to greater and finer things, while refraining from discord and confusion and conflict with one another so far as possible.[1]

For, my friends, education can be predicated of a people also and morality of a state, a morality based upon love of learning and fair-dealing. Moreover, not only did the Spartans and the Athenians in ancient days—and certain other peoples too—through orderly behaviour in civic matters have the good fortune to make their cities great and illustrious even out of very small and weak beginnings, but such an achievement as that is possible also for those of to-day who wish it. For if you follow the practices I have mentioned, they will benefit you more than either the size of your Council, or the right to settle your disputes at home, or the gaining of some revenue from without, or even than independence itself, should you be so fortunate as to obtain that too some day.[2] For rest assured that what is called independence, that nominal possession which comes into being at the pleasure of those who have control and authority, is sometimes impossible

the right to hold court at home (Or. 45. 7 and 41. 33). Revenue "from without" may refer to that which came from court proceedings (Or. 35. 15). Independence of the kind enjoyed by Apameia, its rival and neighbour, Prusa seems not to have obtained.

δυνατὸν κτήσασθαι· τὴν δὲ ἀληθῆ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ ἔργῳ περιγιγνομένην τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ πόλις ἑκάστη παρ' αὑτῆς λαμβάνει, μεγαλοφρόνως καὶ μὴ ταπεινῶς μηδὲ ῥᾳθύμως διοικοῦσα τὸ καθ' αὑτήν. ἵνα δὲ καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν εἰδῆτε τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην, ἀναγνώσομαι ὑμῖν ἐπιστολὴν ἥν τε αὐτὸς ἐπέστειλα τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ὅτε ἐκλήθην, ὅτι[1] ἐν ἐκείνῃ παρεκάλουν ἀφεθῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἀντέγραψεν.

[1] ὅτι Reiske: ὅτε.

to acquire, but the true independence, the kind which men actually achieve, both the individual and the state obtain, each from its own self, if they administer their own affairs in a high-minded and not in a servile and easy-going manner. But that you may know my opinion from another source as well, I will read you a letter which I myself sent to the Emperor in answer to his invitation to visit him, because in that letter I begged to be excused in favour of you, and also the letter which he wrote in reply.[1]

[1] See Introduction.

THE FORTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: IN DEFENCE OF HIS RELATIONS WITH HIS NATIVE CITY

This Discourse seems to have been delivered in A.D. 101 or 102 in a meeting of the popular assembly at Prusa (§§ 1 and 8). We do not know for certain the reason for the meeting, but, since Dio concludes his address with a vigorous defence of his programme to enhance the beauty and dignity of his city, that programme may have been the main item of business on the agenda.

As suggested by its title, the speech covers Dio's relations with the city of Prusa. It is unusually rich in details, but unfortunately the language employed is sometimes so allusive and vague as to leave the modern reader in doubt as to the actual facts involved.

Dio begins by referring briefly to the period of his exile, speaking with bitterness of Domitian, who had sent him into exile, and recalling with pride the courage he had displayed in opposing the Emperor. After a brief reference to the friendship which had existed between the speaker and Nerva and to the loss which he and his city had sustained through Nerva's untimely death, Dio passes to a discussion of a recent visit which he had made at the court of Trajan, from which he had brought back certain concessions which had long been sought after by Prusa. It appears that Dio's enemies had been critical of what he had accomplished, and he takes pains to point out, not only that he had sacrificed his own personal advantage to further the welfare of Prusa, but that the concessions he had won were such as had been granted to only one other city, " the most illustrious city in all Asia."

Although Dio does not specify what those concessions were, we may infer that they included a revision of finances (§§ 6

and 10) and either the establishment or the enlargement of the Council at Prusa (§ 7). It would appear that Dio's enemies had accused him of wire-pulling in connexion with the election of the hundred members of this new Council, and he is at some pains to establish his innocence in the matter.

The last topic to be discussed is his programme for municipal improvements. He devotes much space to explaining that, although he was ambitious to make far-reaching improvements and had possibly allowed his enthusiasm to lead him into indiscreet remarks upon that theme, what he was then undertaking was relatively conservative in its scope. His concluding sentences contain a most interesting recital of the manner in which his project had been ratified—the proconsul had called a meeting of the Assembly without the previous knowledge of Dio and had himself read to the members in attendance either a motion to approve the plan or some statement in support of it; Dio had made an extempore speech advocating its adoption and explaining what it involved; and, if we may believe his words, not only was the vote in favour of the measure unanimous, but all promised to lend it their financial support.

45. ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ ΟΠΩΣ ΕΣΧΗΚΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ

1 Ἄνδρες πολῖται, βούλομαι ὑμῖν ἀποδοῦναι λόγον τῆς ἐπιδημίας ταύτης, ἐπειδὴ καὶ βραχὺν οἴομαι τὸν λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαί μοι χρόνον. τὴν μὲν γὰρ φυγὴν ὅπως διήνεγκα, μὴ φίλων ἐρημίας ἡττηθείς, μὴ χρημάτων ἀπορίας, μὴ σώματος ἀσθενείας, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἅπασιν ἐχθρὸν ἀνεχόμενος οὐ τὸν δεῖνα οὐδὲ τὸν δεῖνα τῶν ἴσων τινὰ καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων[1] ἐνίοτε φθεγγομένων, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἰσχυρότατον καὶ βαρύτατον καὶ δεσπότην ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ θεὸν παρὰ πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ὄντα δαίμονα πονηρόν, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ θωπεύων αὐτὸν οὐδὲ τὴν ἔχθραν παραιτούμενος, ἀλλὰ ἐρεθίζων ἄντικρυς καὶ τὰ[2] προσόντα κακά, μὰ Δί', οὐ μέλλων νῦν ἐρεῖν ἢ γράψειν,[3] ἀλλὰ εἰρηκὼς ἤδη καὶ γεγραφώς, καὶ τούτων πανταχῇ τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων ὄντων, οὐχ ὑπὸ μανίας καὶ ἀπονοίας ταῦτα πράττειν ἐπαιρόμενος, ἀλλὰ κρείττονι πεποιθὼς δυνάμει καὶ βοηθείᾳ τῇ[4] παρὰ τῶν θεῶν,

[1] ὁμοίων] ὁμοίως UBT. After ὁμοίων Emperius adds τῶν δεινά.
[2] τὰ added by Emperius.
[3] γράψειν Cobet: γράφειν.
[4] τῇ added by Reiske.

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[1] Twice in this address Dio refers to the shortness of the time remaining to him at Prusa (§§ 1 and 14). He may be

THE FORTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: IN DEFENCE OF HIS RELATIONS WITH HIS NATIVE CITY

Fellow citizens, I want to render you an account of this sojourn of mine, since I believe that the time remaining to me is going to be very brief.[1] Well, how I bore my exile, not succumbing to loss of friends or lack of means or physical infirmity; and, besides all this, bearing up under the hatred, not of this or that one among my equals, or peers as they are sometimes called, but rather of the most powerful, most stern man, who was called by all Greeks and barbarians both master and god,[2] but who was in reality an evil demon; and this too without fawning upon him or trying to avert his hatred by entreaty but challenging him openly, and not putting off until now, God knows, to speak or write about the evils which afflicted us, but having done both already, and that too in speeches and writings broadcast to the world, not being goaded by madness or desperation to do these things, but trusting in a greater power and source of aid, that which

about to go to Rome for the approaching trial of Bassus (Or. 44. 8), hoping to use that opportunity to gain further favours for Prusa (*infra* § 3).

[2] Domitian. Cf. Suetonius, *Domitian* 13: *cum procuratorum suorum nomine formalem dictaret epistulam, sic coepit: dominus et deus noster hoc fieri iubet.*

ἧς καταφρονοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀνωφελῆ νομίζου-
2 σιν—. τὸ δὲ περὶ τούτων καθ' ἕκαστον λέγειν
ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι περιττόν παρ' ἄλλοις γὰρ μᾶλλον
γιγνώσκεται ταῦτα καὶ τυγχάνει δόξης καὶ τιμῆς
τῆς προσηκούσης· παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ ἂν διεξίω τὸν
τῆς φυγῆς χρόνον, οὐκ ὀδύρεσθαί με φήσει τις,
πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἀλαζονεύεσθαι.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς
γενομένης ἀνῄειν μὲν πρὸς τὸν βέλτιστον Νέρβαν.
ὑπὸ δὲ νόσου χαλεπῆς κατασχεθεὶς ὅλον ἐκεῖνον
ἐζημιώθην τὸν καιρόν, ἀφαιρεθεὶς αὐτοκράτορος
φιλανθρώπου κἀμὲ ἀγαπῶντος καὶ πάλαι φίλου.
καὶ ὀμνύω τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν ἅπαντας, οὐκ ἐφ' οἷς
ἂν εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τινα ἔλαβον, οὐκ ἐπὶ
τούτοις ἄχθομαι διαμαρτών, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ὑμῖν καὶ
δημοσίᾳ τῇ πόλει παρασχεῖν ἐδυνάμην, ταύτην ἐγὼ
3 μεγάλην ἀριθμῷ βλάβην καὶ ζημίαν. ὧν γὰρ νῦν
ἐτύχομεν, τότε ἐξῆν ταῦτα ἔχειν καὶ τῷ παρόντι
καιρῷ πρὸς ἑτέρας κεχρῆσθαι δωρεάς. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν
ὑπῆρξε παρὰ τούτου φιλανθρωπία καὶ σπουδὴ τοσ-
αύτη[1] περὶ ἡμᾶς ὅσην ἐπίστανται μὲν[2] οἱ παρα-
τυχόντες, ἐγὼ δὲ ἂν λέγω νῦν, σφόδρα λυπήσω
τινάς—ἴσως δὲ οὐδὲ φανεῖται πιστὸς ὁ λόγος τὸ

[1] τοσαύτη Emperius : τοιαύτη.
[2] μὲν Emperius : μόνοι.

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[1] For the principal clause, which is missing in this sufficiently long sentence, Dio doubtless substituted an eloquent gesture.

[2] I.e., better known among his friends at Rome and in the places which he had visited in his wanderings.

[3] Nerva succeeded Domitian in A.D. 96.

[4] Nerva died in January of A.D. 98.

proceeds from the gods, though most men scorn it and deem it useless[1]—but to speak of these things in detail I think is superfluous, for these matters are better known among other men[2] and enjoy a renown and honour which is their due, whereas if I narrate in Prusa the course of my exile, men will say, not that I am lamenting, but far rather that I am boasting.

However that may be, when that man had died and the change of administration had been effected,[3] I was on the point of going to visit the most noble Nerva; but, having been prevented by a serious illness, I lost that opportunity completely, being robbed of an emperor who was humane and fond of me and an old-time friend.[4] And I swear to you by all the gods, it is not because of what I might have obtained for myself or for some member of my family that I am distressed at having missed it, no, because of what I might have achieved for you and for the state at large: for this I count a great injury and loss. For what we have now obtained[5] we might have had then, and we might have employed the present opportunity toward obtaining further grants. However that may be, when I had experienced at the hands of the present Emperor a benevolence and an interest in me whose magnitude those who were there[6] know full well, though if I speak of it now I shall greatly annoy certain persons[7]—and possibly the statement will not even seem credible,

[5] I.e., the Council of One Hundred, revision of finances, and the right to hold court at Prusa.

[6] I.e., in Rome in connexion with the mission of A.D. 100 (Or. 40. 15).

[7] Perhaps those who had expected of him greater accomplishments, though no doubt there were some who envied him his influence at Rome.

τηλικαύτης τιμῆς τυγχάνοντα καὶ συνηθείας καὶ φιλίας ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐᾶσαι καὶ παριδεῖν, ἐπιθυμήσαντα τῆς ἐνταῦθα ταραχῆς καὶ τῆς ἀσχολίας, ἵνα μηδὲν εἴπω πλέον—ὅμως δ' εἰς οὐδὲν τῶν ἰδίων κατεθέμην τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος εὔνοιαν οὐδὲ ἀπὸ μέρους, οἷον τὰ τῆς οὐσίας ἐπανορθώσας διεφθαρμένης ἢ προσλαβών τινα ἀρχὴν ἢ δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ἅπαν ὅσον ποτὲ ἦν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔτρεψα καὶ μόνον εἶδον τὸ τῆς πόλεως.

4 *Ταῦτα δὲ εἰ*[1] *μέν ἐστι χρήσιμα καὶ*[2] *μεγάλα, ἢ*[3] *μὴ πολλοῖς ὑπάρξαντα ἑτέροις ἀλλὰ*[4] *μιᾷ πόλει, καὶ ταύτῃ σχεδόν τι τῶν ἐλλογιμωτάτων κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τηλικοῦτον ἐχούσῃ δίκαιον πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, τοῦ θεοῦ παρ' ἐκείνοις μαντευσαμένου καὶ προειπόντος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ καὶ πρώτου πάντων ἐκείνου φανερῶς αὐτὸν ἀποδείξαντος τῶν ὅλων κύριον· οὐ λέγω τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. ὅτι δ'*[5] *ὑμεῖς μάλιστα τούτων*[6] *ἐπεθυμεῖτε,*[7] *καὶ χρόνος ἦν πολύς, ὃν ἠλπίζετε, ἐξηπάτησθε,*[8] *τοῖς ὑποσχομένοις μόνον τῶν ἰδιωτῶν*[9]*—οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἡγεμόνων οὐδεὶς οὔτε προσεδόκησε πώποτε οὔτε ὑπέσχετο—τιμὰς ὑπερβαλλούσας ἐδίδοτε, πρὸ πολ-*

[1] *δὲ εἰ*] *δ' ὅτι* Arnim. [2] *καὶ* added by Reiske.
[3] *ἢ*] deleted by Arnim.
[4] *ἀλλὰ* Crosby : *ἀλλ' ἤ*. [5] *δ'* added by Selden.
[6] *τούτων* Crosby, *τούτου* Emperius : *τοῦτο*.
[7] *ἐπεθυμεῖτε* Reiske : *ἐπιθυμεῖτε*.
[8] *ἐξηπάτησθε* Emperius : *ἐξηπατῆσθαι*.
[9] *ἰδιωτῶν* Emperius : *ἡγεμόνων*.

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[1] In Or. 40. 15 he complains of lack of leisure.
[2] The allusion is obscure. Possibly Dio is referring to

that one who met with such esteem and intimacy and friendship should have neglected all these things and have given them scant attention, having formed a longing for the confusion and bustle here at home,[1] to put it mildly—for all that, I did not employ that opportunity or the goodwill of the Emperor for any selfish purpose, not even to a limited degree, for example toward restoring my ruined fortunes or securing some office or emolument, but anything that it was possible to obtain I turned in your direction and I had eyes only for the welfare of the city.

But the question whether these concessions are useful and important, or whether they have been granted, not to many other cities, but to one only, and that too, I venture to state, one of the most illustrious in all Asia, a city possessing so great a claim upon the Emperor, inasmuch as the god they worship had prophesied and foretold his leadership to him and had been the first of all openly to proclaim him master of the world [2]—I am not speaking of anything like that. But that you desired these concessions [3] most of all, and that there had been a long period during which you were in a state of expectancy, victims of deception, constantly bestowing extravagant honours upon those private persons who merely gave you promises—for of course none of the proconsuls ever either expected or promised these concessions [4]—inasmuch as you went in a body

Smyrna, for in Or. 40. 14 he speaks of a report that Trajan had been astonishingly generous to Smyrna—though Dio himself refutes the report.

[3] I.e., the concessions won by Dio (§ 3).

[4] The petty agents referred to seem to have been negotiating with one or more proconsuls instead of directly with Trajan, as Dio had done, cf. § 5.

λοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαντῶντες[1] πανδημεὶ καὶ[2] περιμένοντες ἐν ἑτέραις πόλεσι· τοῦτο ἴσως[3] ἐννοεῖν ἄξιον. καίτοι σμικρῶν γενομένων καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίων, τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν γενναῖον καὶ μὴ φθόνου καὶ βασκανίας ἥττονα τότε ἐχρῆν λέγειν ὅτι, Μαίνεσθε καὶ παρανοεῖτε τοιούτων ἐξεχόμενοι σφόδρα οὕτως καὶ θεραπεύοντες ἀνθρώπους οὕτω ταπεινοὺς ἐπὶ πράγμασιν οὔτε ἀναγκαίοις οὔτε μεγάλοις καὶ ταῦτα ἀδήλοις, ἔτι καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντες βέβαιον. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, χαλεπὸν μὲν ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁπωσοῦν γενόμενόν τι τούτων. οὐ μὴν ὁμοίως ἐλύπει τὸ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα τῶν ἡγεμόνων[4] εἶναι τὸν ποιήσαντα καὶ παρασχόντα, μὴ τῶν ἡμετέρων τινὰ πολιτῶν. ἔτι δὲ ἐλπὶς ὑπῄει καὶ ἔθελγεν αὐτοὺς οὐδέποτε[5] γενομένων.

6 Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο ἀκήκοα πολλῶν ἐγὼ λεγόντων, ὡς πρότερον[6] ἀντιγράψαντος περὶ τῆς διοικήσεως τῶν ἡγεμόνων τινὸς καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀποτευχθέντος πολλοὶ κατεγέλων τῆς πόλεως—οὐ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων, ἧττον γὰρ ἂν[7] ἦν τὸ δεινόν, ἀλλὰ

[1] ἀπαντῶντες Selden : ἅπαντες.
[2] καὶ added by Selden, ἢ Emperius.
[3] τοῦτο ἴσως Emperius : τούτοις ὡς.
[4] τῶν ἡγεμόνων deleted by Emperius.
[5] οὐδέποτε Crosby, ὡς οὐδέποτε ἂν Emperius : ὡς οὐδέποτε.
[6] πρότερον Emperius : πρᾳότερον or πραώτερον.
[7] ἂν added by Pflugk.

[1] The personal pronoun contained in the last three sentences, though plural, seems to refer to the "high-minded" citizen, who had failed to protest against relying upon the worthless agents who for some time had fed Prusa on false

far from Prusa to meet the men of whom I speak, and waited for them in other cities—this perhaps is a matter worth bearing in mind. And yet, seeing that only trifling, yes worthless, concessions were effected by them, the high-minded man, the man who was not the slave of envy and malice, should have said at the time, "You are crazy and deluded in clinging so tenaciously to men like that and in cultivating such low fellows in order to gain favours that are neither essential nor important, to say nothing of their being vague and of your having no assurance." But, I suspect, any of these things, no matter how it was brought to pass, was to them difficult. Yet surely the people were not equally distressed that it was this or that proconsul who had effected the concession and presented it to them instead of one of our own citizens. Besides, they had a lurking hope which cheered them regarding concessions that never came to pass.[1]

And yet this too I have heard from many sources, that when one of the proconsuls on a previous occasion had sent a rescript regarding the administration of our finances [2] and the project came to naught, many ridiculed the city—I don't mean many of our neighbours, for the outrage would have been less in that

hopes, but who was critical of Dio's own achievements. He contrasts ironically favours due to the intervention of a proconsul with those secured by a citizen of Prusa (himself). It is not easy to see why either type of favour should have been "distressing"; but cf. Or. 40. 10, where Dio suggests that his enemies were reluctant to witness the development of their city.

[2] The word διοίκησις recurs frequently in the Bithynian speeches. Pliny's correspondence with Trajan shows how keen an interest Rome felt in the financial well-being of the province.

τῶν πολιτῶν—ὡς μειζόνων ἢ καθ' αὑτὴν ἐφιεμένης καὶ διαφερούσης οὐδὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀφροσύνην τῶν παίδων τῶν βασιλέων. καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντες οὐκ ᾐσχύνοντο διασύροντες τὴν αὑτῶν πατρίδα καὶ καθαιροῦντες ἐν τοῖς λόγοις οὕτως[1] ἀνοήτως. εἴτε γάρ εἰσι[2] τῶν πρωτευόντων ἐν αὐτῇ ἢ τιμωμένων, αὑτοὺς καθαιροῦσιν ἀσθενοῦς καὶ ἀδόξου πόλεως προεστηκότες· εἴτε τῶν ἀπερριμμένων εἰσὶ καὶ τῶν ὑστάτων, ἔτι μείζω καὶ χαλεπωτέραν ποιοῦσι τὴν ἀτιμίαν αὑτοῖς, εἰ τῆς ἐσχάτης πόλεως ἔσχατοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες.

7 Ἵνα δὲ μὴ διὰ τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντας λόγους τοῦ προτεθέντος ἐκκρουσθῶ, τούτων ὅπως δήποτε ληφθέντων καὶ κομισθέντων ἐνταῦθα, σκοπεῖτε[3] εἴ τῳ βαρὺς γέγονα τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ κατ' ἰδίαν ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ λέγων ἢ κοινῇ προφέρων καὶ ὀνειδίζων χάριτας ἢ προαγαγών τινας ὧν ἐβουλόμην· ἢ τοὐναντίον οὐκ ἔλαττον[4] ἑκατὸν βουλευτῶν καταλεγέντων ἕτεροι μὲν εἰσήγαγον φίλους αὑτῶν καὶ παρεσκεύασαν ὅπως ἕξουσι τοὺς συναγωνιζομένους καὶ βοηθοῦντας οἷς ἄν ποτε ἐθέλωσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτ' ἐποίησα τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν οὔτε διελέχθην τοιοῦτον, ὡς ἐμοὶ μᾶλλον ἂν προσθεμένων,[5] εἰ ἐβουλόμην, ἢ
8 ἄλλῳ τινί. μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ ἠξίουν μηδὲ ἕτερον

[1] οὕτως] αὑτοὺς Arnim.
[2] εἰσι Reiske: ἐπὶ UM, omitted by B.
[3] καὶ κομισθέντων ἐνταῦθα, σκοπεῖτε Emperius: ἐνταῦθα, σκοπεῖτε καὶ κομισθέντων.
[4] οὐκ ἔλαττον Reiske: ἔλαττον οὐχ or ἐλαττῶν οὐχ.
[5] μᾶλλον ἂν προσθεμένων Reiske, προσθεμένων ἂν Pflugk: προσθεμένων.

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[1] A minority of the Prusans seem to have had full citizenship.

ease, but many of our own fellow citizens—alleging that the city was aiming at things beyond its reach and in point of folly proving in no wise superior to the sons of kings. And in saying these things they were not ashamed to be disparaging their own country and discrediting it so thoughtlessly by their words. For if they are among the foremost in it or among those held in honour, they are discrediting themselves, having been the outstanding men of a weak and ignoble city; while if they are among the outcast and lowest group,[1] they are making their own disgrace still greater and more grievous, if they happen to occupy the lowest station in a city of the lowest grade.

But, not to be diverted from my theme by these incidental reflections, now that these favours have been obtained in whatever way they were, and brought to Prusa,[2] consider whether I have made myself obnoxious to any of our citizens, either privately by speaking to my own interest, or publicly by parading and casting in your teeth favours conferred, or by having given preferment to certain men of my choice; or whether, on the contrary, though no fewer than a hundred councillors were enrolled, while others had put in friends of their own and had schemed to have in the Council persons to aid them and to give their support to whatever they might wish to accomplish, I neither did anything of the kind nor discussed such a thing, in the belief that they[3] would have sided with me rather than with somebody else had I so desired. No, I held that, if possible, no other man should introduce such a

[2] I.e., by Dio. Cf. § 3 and note.
[3] I.e., the electors.

μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἔθος εἰσάγειν μηδὲ καθ' ἑταιρείας πολιτεύεσθαι μηδ' εἰς μέρη διασπᾶν τὴν πόλιν· εἰ δ' οὖν, αὐτὸς ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν τοιούτων ἁμαρτημάτων, εἰ καὶ πάντων ἔλαττον ἰσχύειν ἔμελλον καὶ μηδενὸς ἀξιοῦσθαι λόγου.

Τί οὖν ἥμαρτον ἐν τούτοις καὶ τί παρελείφθη μοι; δίκαιός εἰμι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι μήτε αὐτὸς μηδὲν ἔπραττον ἄδικον καὶ παράνομον μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκώλυον,[1] ἐξὸν ἑνὶ ῥήματι κωλῦσαι καὶ καταστάντα[2] μηνῦσαι τὸ γιγνόμενον, καίπερ[3] εἰδόσιν, ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν. εἰ δὲ μήτε ὑμεῖς προσείχετε[4] μήτε τῶν ἡγεμόνων τὸ πρᾶγμα ἥπτετο,
9 οὐ χαλεπὸν ἦν ἐπιστεῖλαι[5] τῷ αὐτοκράτορι. τοῦτο οὖν ἦν τὸ ποιῆσαν ἐμὲ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἵνα μὴ δοκῶ κατηγορεῖν τινων μηδὲ διαβάλλειν τὴν πόλιν μηδ' ὅλως λυπηρότερος ὦ τῶν ἐνθάδε μηδενί. τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς βουλῆς οὕτω διῳκήθη, τά γ'[6] ἄλλα ὀρθῶς· οὔτε γὰρ φαύλους οὔτε ἀναξίους ἄνδρας ἐχειροτονήσατε· πλὴν ὅτι πάντες τῆς ἴσης τυχόντες τιμῆς, καίτοι δικαίως τυγχάνοντες καὶ δι' αὐτούς, ὅμως καθάπερ οἱ μυούμενοι μυσταγωγῶν ἐδεήθησαν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲ ψῆφον ἠξίωσα διενεγκεῖν ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς μόνος, μὴ ῥοπήν τινα δοκῇ τὸ τοιοῦτον παρέχειν καὶ μαρτυρίαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς ὀκ-

[1] ἐκώλυον] ἐκέλευον Naber.
[2] καταστάντα Wyttenbach : καταστάντας καί.
[3] καίπερ Arnim : καὶ παρ'.
[4] προσείχετε Morel : προείχετε.
[5] ἐπιστεῖλαι Reiske : ἐπιτελέσαι.
[6] γ' Reiske : δ'.

[1] Political clubs were influential at Athens as early as the fifth century B.C. Trajan warns Pliny against the danger of their formation in Bithynia (Pliny, *Letters* 10. 34).

[2] At the Eleusinian Mysteries these officials instructed

practice or conduct state affairs by means of political clubs [1] or split the city into factions, but if they did, that I at any rate should abstain from such misdeeds, even if it meant that I should have much less influence than any of the others and be considered of no importance at all.

Then what error have I committed in the matters under consideration, or in what have I been found remiss? I have the right to admit to you that I was neither doing anything unjust and illegal myself nor trying to prevent the others from so doing, although by a single word I could have prevented and, by presenting myself, have disclosed to you and the proconsuls what was going on, though you knew it already. And, in case you paid no heed and the matter did not impress the proconsuls either, it would not have been difficult to send word to the Emperor. It was this, therefore, that made me keep quiet, that I might not be suspected of accusing certain persons or of maligning the city and, in general, that I might not be too irritating to anyone at Prusa. Now then, the matter of the Council was managed as follows, correctly for the most part, for you elected men who were neither mediocre nor undeserving; however, since they all received the same rank—even though they obtained it justly and through their own merits—they nevertheless, like those who are being initiated into the mysteries, required *mystagogoi*.[2] Yet I did not see fit even to vote no on a single candidate, yes, I alone, lest such action on my part might seem to lend some weight and testimony, and lest some of the others

candidates for initiation regarding the proper procedure and acted as their sponsors.

νήσωσιν ἐμοὶ τἀναντία γράφειν καὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι.
10 τί οὖν; ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἢ τρεῖς γενομένης[1] τῆς χειροτονίας ἐξῆλθον οὐδ' ἔμελλον[2] παρατυχὼν τοῖς γεγονόσιν οὐδένα ἔχειν[3] χρεώστην οὐδὲ συνωμότην οὐδὲ ἐμοὶ χάριν ὀφείλοντα τοῦ πράγματος. ὑμῖν γάρ, οὐκ ἐμαυτῷ, τοὺς βουλευτὰς ᾐτησάμην.

Καὶ τοίνυν διοικήσεως νῦν πρῶτον εἰσαχθείσης[4] πολλὰ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἠδικημένος—ὥσπερ εἰκός ἐστι τὸν ἐλθόντα μετὰ τοσαῦτα ἔτη φυγῆς—καὶ πρὸς ἐνίους οὐδὲ δικῶν μοι δέον,[5] ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον[6] εἰπεῖν καὶ μνησθῆναι περὶ τῶν κατεχομένων, πρὸς οὐδένα οὔτ' ἐμνήσθην οὔτε λόγον ἐποιησάμην οὐδένα, τοσούτων μὲν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφεστηκότων οἰκετῶν, τοσούτων δὲ χρήματα ἀπεστερηκότων, τοσούτων δὲ χωρία κατεχόντων, ἅτε μηδενὸς ὄντος τοῦ
11 κωλύσοντος. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν Ὀδυσσεῖ πατέρα οἴκοι καταλιπόντι καὶ γυναῖκα ἀγαθὴν καὶ φίλους συνέβη καταφρονηθῆναι διὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν οὕτως ὥστε[7] τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καταλαβόντας[8] ἐνίους ἑστιᾶσθαι καὶ πίνειν καθ' ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν τὸν οἶνον ἀντλοῦντας καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα ἀποκτιννύντας, καὶ μηδὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀπέχεσθαι τελευτῶντας, ἀλλ' ἄκουσαν βιάζεσθαι γῆμαι καὶ καταλιπεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐκ ἦν εἰκὸς ὑπὸ

[1] γενομένης] γιγνομένης Reiske.
[2] οὐδ' ἔμελλον Emperius : οὐδὲ μᾶλλον.
[3] ἔχειν Emperius : ἔχων.
[4] εἰσαχθείσης Capps : ἀχθείσης.
[5] δέον Emperius : δεῖν.
[6] μᾶλλον] μόνον Pflugk.
[7] ὥστε Reiske : τε.
[8] καταλαβόντας Emperius : καταλιπόντας or καταλιπόντος.

[1] Candidates for the Council seem to have been subject to a "scrutiny," in the course of which written testimony might be presented. Dio's reluctance to take part testifies to his

might be reluctant to write and declare themselves in opposition to me.[1] What then? When the voting had been in progress for two or three days I left Prusa and did not intend by being present at the proceedings to have any one as my debtor or confederate or owing me thanks because of the affair. For it was for you, not for myself, that I had asked for the councillors.

And again, when now for the first time the question of financial administration[2] had been brought up, though I had been wronged by many men in many matters—as indeed it was to be expected that a man should be who had come home after so many years of exile—and although with regard to some I did not even need to go to law, but rather to speak to them and remind them of what was being held in their possession, nevertheless I did not mention these matters to any one or make any statement, although so many slaves had run away and obtained freedom, so many persons had defrauded me of money, so many were occupying lands of mine, since there was no one to prevent such doings. For if Odysseus, who had left at home a father, a faithful wife, and friends, had the misfortune to be so despised because of his absence from home that some took possession of his house and feasted and drank there every day, draining his wine casks and killing off his cattle, and finally did not even keep their hands off his wife, but tried to make her marry again against her will and to abandon her husband and her home, was it not to be expected that I should have suffered

influence at Prusa. He may well have wished to avoid incurring enmity and thus endangering his success in greater matters.

[2] Cf. § 6 and note.

πολλῶν πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι, πάντων ἀπεγνωκότων με καὶ μηδενὸς ἔτι σωθήσεσθαι προσδοκῶντος;

12 Ἀλλὰ περὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως οὐχ ὅμοιος ἑτέροις γέγονα, λέγω δὲ οὐ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων καλουμένων σωφρονέστερος· ἐλύπησα δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν πόλιν. περὶ δὲ τούτων, ὡς ἐγένετο, πολλάκις ἀκηκόατε· δεῖ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἴσως ἀναμνῆσαι. ἐγὼ γάρ, ἄνδρες, τὸ μὲν βούλεσθαι τὴν πόλιν κοσμεῖν καὶ κατασκευάζειν μὴ μόνον στοαῖς καὶ ὕδασιν, ἀλλά, εἰ δυνατὸν ἦν,

13 καὶ τείχεσι καὶ λιμέσι καὶ νεωρίοις ὁμολογῶ. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἔρωτα, οὕτως[1] εἴτε παιδικὸν φήσει τις εἴτε ἀνόητον, οὐκ ἔξαρνός εἰμι, τὸ καὶ συνοικίζειν ἐθέλειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων εἰς αὐτὴν ὅσον δύναμαι συναγαγεῖν, καὶ οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀλλ', εἰ δυνατὸν ἦν, καὶ ἑτέρας πόλεις συνελθεῖν ἀναγκάσαντα, ὥσπερ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ποτὲ τὴν Βοιωτίαν εἰς τὰς Θήβας συνῴκισε καὶ Θησεὺς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ Μυτιληναῖοί[2] ποτε λέγονται τῆς Αἰολίδος κατασχόντες καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ Τρῳάδα τόπων τὴν Λέσβον ἅπασαν εἰς μίαν τὴν αὑτῶν[3] συναγαγεῖν πόλιν.

14 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπιστάμενός γε τὰς διανοίας τῶν

[1] οὕτως] ὄντως Emperius, ὅλως Arnim, deleted by Reiske.
[2] Μυτιληναῖοι C. Fr. Hermann : μειλήσιοι or μιλήσιοι.
[3] αὑτῶν Emperius : αὐτῶν.

[1] Cf. Or. 40. 2. [2] Cf. Or. 40. 8-12.

[3] These operations form the central theme of Or. 47 and are referred to incidentally in Or. 40 and 48. No doubt he had spoken on the same topic on many occasions.

[4] Mytilenê controlled much of Aeolis in the time of Pitta-

many such wrongs at the hands of many men, since all had come to despair of me and no one any longer expected me to return in safety?[1]

However, though possibly I have not been like others in regard to such matters—I mean that, as compared not only with laymen but even with many who are known as philosophers, I may have acted with more self-restraint—still I have offended the city in the matter of the public improvements.[2] Concerning these, how they came about, you have often heard me speak[3]; yet perhaps I should take this occasion also to refresh your memory. For, gentlemen, that I wished in the first place to beautify the city and equip it with, not merely colonnades and fountains, but also, if that were possible, fortifications and harbours and shipyards, I freely admit. And also that I have had another passionate desire —call it either so childish or so foolish as you will— I do not deny. I mean my desire to make our city the head of a federation of cities and to bring together in it as great a multitude of inhabitants as I can, and not merely dwellers in this district either, but even, if possible, compelling other cities too to join together with us, just as Epaminondas once brought Boeotia into union with Thebes, and as Theseus brought Attica into union with Athens, and as the people of Mytilenê once, according to report, having become masters of Aeolis and of the regions about the Hellespont and the Troad, gathered all Lesbos into their own state as a unit.[4]

However, being acquainted with the views of some

cus, whose rule lasted from 589 to 579 B.C., but we have no other record of this undertaking. *Synoecism* did not entail change of residence but merely change of political allegiance.

ἐνθάδε ἀνθρώπων ἐνίων καὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ τὰς ἀσχολίας καὶ τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἐπιδημίας, ὅτι μοι βραχύς ἐστι παντελῶς, οὔτε ἡπτόμην οὐδενὸς μείζονος οὔτε ἤλπιζον, μόνον δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκ ἐδυνάμην τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ κατέχειν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἐρῶντες αὐτοὶ[1] περὶ τῶν τοιούτων[2] διεξίασιν οἵων καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσι, κἀγὼ πολλάκις ἐμεμνήμην ὧν[3] καὶ ἐνόμιζον συμφέρειν γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει κατασκευῆς ἕνεκα καὶ συνοικισμοῦ καὶ προσόδων
15 καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων. ἃ εἴ ποτε γένοιτο καιρὸς ἐπιτελεσθῆναι καὶ θεῶν τις ποιήσειε, τότε ὄψεσθε τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τινων ἔχθρας καὶ τοῦ[4] πρὸς ἐμὲ μίσους, ἵνα μὴ λέγω τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐκέτι ἀμφιβόλως οὐδὲ πρᾴως ἐροῦσι καὶ λοιδορήσονται, φανερῶς δὲ καὶ ἄντικρυς, κἂν μὴ κωλῦσαι δυνηθῶσιν, ἀπάγξονται πρότερον ἢ τὴν πόλιν ἰδεῖν οἵαν αὐτὴν βουλομένων θεῶν οὐκ ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι. τότε δ' οὖν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος δεξαμένου τὸ πρᾶγμα—τυχὸν μὲν δι' ὑμᾶς, ἴσως δὲ καὶ δι' ἐμέ—καὶ συναγαγόντος[5] ἐκκλησίαν, οὐ προειδότος ἐμοῦ, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἀναγιγνώσκοντος, οὐκ ἐδυνήθην τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἀλλ' ἀνέστην καὶ συνεβούλευσα καὶ
16 ἐνεδειξάμην τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι τὸ πρᾶγμα. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οὐχ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ὑμεῖς ἐπεθυμήσατε τῶν ἔργων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τέλει τις ἀντεῖπεν, οὐδὲ ἀντεῖπε μὲν οὐδείς, οὐ μὴν προθυμούμενος εὑρέθη καὶ

[1] αὐτοὶ] ἀεὶ Geel, ἀεί τι Jacobs, ἀεί ποτε Wilamowitz.
[2] After τοιούτων Reiske deletes τοιαῦτα.
[3] ὧν added by Selden.
[4] τοῦ Reiske : τοῦτο.
[5] συναγαγόντος Pflugk : συνάγοντος.

[1] Cf. § 1. [2] Cf. Or. 40. 8-11. [3] Cf. Or. 40. 6.

of the people here, as well as with my own limitations and responsibilities and the duration of my sojourn in Prusa—for the time at my disposal is altogether brief [1]—I neither undertook anything too ambitious nor entertained any such expectations, only I could not control my own thoughts, but, just as lovers when alone together expatiate on such things as they most desire, so I too would often mention those things which I did believe it would profit the city to have for its equipment and its establishment of a federation and its revenues and countless other things. And if the opportunity should ever arise for the fulfilment of these projects and some god should bring them to pass, then you will see the extravagance of the hostility of certain persons and of their hatred of me—to say nothing of their hatred of you—since they will no longer be ambiguous and mild in their speech and their abuse, but open and outspoken, and if they prove unable to block proceedings, they will hang themselves sooner than see the city become such a city as, God willing, it is not impossible for it to come to be.[2] At that time, at any rate, when the proconsul accepted the proposal [3]—possibly through your efforts, but perhaps through mine as well—and convened an assembly, though I had had no previous warning, and began to read a statement about these matters, I could not keep quiet, but took the floor and gave the measure my support and explained the project for those who lacked information on the subject. And as to what happened after that, it is not that you the Assembly desired the improvements but a certain one of the officials opposed them, nor yet that, while no one opposed them, none was found enthusiastically in favour of

συμπράττων, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθοῖς οὖσι καὶ συμφέρουσιν οὐ λόγῳ μόνον[1] συμπράττοντες καὶ συνεισφέροντες· καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὡς καλὸν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον οὕτως ἐγένετο.[2]

[1] After μόνον Reiske adds ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ εὑρέθησαν.
[2] Arnim regards the sentence as incomplete.

them and ready to co-operate; on the contrary, one and all, believing that the undertaking was fine and for the city's good, were ready not only to vote for it but also to contribute to it; and thus the proposal was carried, as being fine and magnificent and beneficial to the city.

THE FORTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: DELIVERED IN HIS NATIVE CITY PRIOR TO HIS PHILOSOPHICAL CAREER

The title of this Discourse, though doubtless truthful, affords no information as to either the contents or the occasion. Such a title must have been given by a person who was interested in the chronology of the speeches. It is the only title of the sort preserved in our MSS., though Synesius found several of that type in his copy of Dio.

Relying on internal evidence, Arnim dates the speech shortly prior to Dio's exile. Although the clues when taken separately may not be conclusive on that point, their combined witness supports that dating. The speaker is conscious of his powers as an orator (§ 7) and has appeared as an advocate in court (§ 8); he has been in possession of his inheritance for some time, though he has not yet collected all the debts due the estate; he has excited the envy of the masses by his reputed wealth (§§ 5-6); he appears to have only one infant child (§ 13); he has recently built a pretentious villa and some workshops (§ 9). Furthermore, he rests his claim to respect upon the reputation of his forebears rather than upon any merits of his own (§§ 2-4), and his failure to appeal for sympathy on the score of having been an exile is in marked contrast with his behaviour in the speeches which are demonstrably subsequent to that exile.

The occasion for the address is briefly as follows. As a result of the rising price of grain at Prusa a bread riot has taken place. The excited mob rushed to attack the properties of Dio and an unnamed neighbour, either because they were suspected of having manipulated the grain market

or because it was felt that they should be doing something toward the relief of the masses or because of pure hatred of the poor for the rich. Having reached a narrow lane near Dio's estate, the mob suddenly was seized with panic and withdrew. The following morning the local authorities call a town meeting to discuss ways and means of easing the situation. In this meeting of citizens Dio rises to protest against his maltreatment by the mob. The gathering is hostile, and he appeals for a fair hearing both in the beginning of his remarks and later when he speaks of the price of grain; but he shows himself a man of fearless courage both in defending himself and in upbraiding his fellow townsmen. The address is interesting, not only as presumably the spontaneous eloquence of a distinguished speaker, but also as portraying in vivid colours the social and economic unrest that must have characterized more than one community in Bithynia.

46. ΠΡΟ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΕΙΝ ΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ

1 Ἐγὼ οὐχ οὕτως ἐκπέπληγμαι ἐφ' οἷς ποιεῖτε, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοιούτοις οὖσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν ὁρῶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὀργῆς πρὸς ἐμέ, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ εἰς ἀπορίαν ἄγον. ὀργὴν μὲν γὰρ δικαίαν ἔστι παραιτήσασθαι ἀνθρώπων, μῖσος δὲ ἄδικον τίς ἂν θεραπεύσαι; ἀξιῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀκοῦσαί μου λέγοντος οὐκ ἐμοῦ ἕνεκα μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀδικῶ, οὐδὲ ὑμεῖς βούλεσθε δήπου ἀναιτίως μισεῖν τινα τῶν ὑμετέρων πολιτῶν· εἰ δὲ ἀδικῶ, κατ' ἐμοῦ ὁ λόγος ἔσται, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ· καὶ οὕτως γε μείζω ὑμῖν ὑφέξω τιμωρίαν ἢ αὐτοὶ ζητεῖτε. τὸ γὰρ ἐξελεγχθῆναι πονηρὸν ὄντα τῷ παντὶ δεινότερον τοῦ λευσθῆναι ἢ καταφλεγῆναι.[1]
2 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν μάθετε ὅτι ἃ[1] δοκεῖ ὑμῖν φοβερά, οἱ λίθοι καὶ τὸ πῦρ, οὐδενὶ φοβερά ἐστιν, οὐδ' ἐστέ γε τούτοις ἰσχυροί, ἀλλὰ πάντων ἀσθενέστατοι, ἐκτὸς εἰ μή τις ἠρίθμει[2] τὴν τῶν λῃστῶν καὶ τῶν μαινομένων δύναμιν. πόλεως δὲ καὶ δήμου ἰσχὺς ἐν ἑτέροις ἐστί, καὶ πρῶτόν γε ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν[3] καὶ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν.[2]

[1] ἃ added by Casaubon. [2] ἠρίθμει] ἀριθμεῖ Emperius. [3] φρονεῖν] σωφρονεῖν Emperius ex marg. Morel.

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[1] Cf. § 10. [2] Cf. §§ 4 and 12-13.

THE FORTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: DELIVERED IN HIS NATIVE CITY PRIOR TO HIS PHILOSOPHICAL CAREER

I AM not so astounded at your conduct, gentlemen, shocking as it is, but since I cannot see any justification for your anger against me, I am in a quandary. For while justifiable anger can be assuaged by entreaty, hatred that is unjust who could heal? However, I ask you to give me a hearing,[1] since I speak as much on your account as on my own. For if I am guilty of no wrong, neither do you, I presume, wish to hate without a cause one of your own citizens; while if I am guilty, my words will be harmful instead of helpful to me; and thus I shall undergo at your hands a punishment greater than you yourselves are seeking. For it is in every way more dreadful to be proved a scoundrel than to be stoned to death or consumed by fire.[2] And you must recognize first of all that the things which seem terrible to you—stones and fire—are not terrible to anybody, and that you are not really strong because of these things, but weakest of all—unless one were to take into account the strength of brigands and madmen. But as for a city and a government by the people, strength lies in other things, and first and foremost in wisdom and fair dealing.

Περὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐμὲ δεῖ λέγειν εἰ ἀγαθὸς ἦν. ἀεὶ γὰρ εὐφημεῖτε αὐτὸν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον, ὅπου ἂν μνησθῆτε, ὡς οὐ φαῦλον
3 πολίτην. δεῖ μέντοι εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς ὅτι οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἐκείνῳ ἐστὶ τούτων τῶν ἐπαίνων· ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀποδέχησθε, τότε κἀκείνου μέμνησθε. καὶ περὶ τοῦ πάππου δὲ τοῦ ἡμετέρου οὐκ ἂν εἴποι οὐδεὶς οὔτε ὡς κατῄσχυνε τὴν πόλιν οὔτε ὡς οὐδὲν ἀνάλωσεν ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ. τὴν γὰρ οὐσίαν ἣν εἶχε πατρῴαν καὶ παππῴαν ἅπασαν εἰς φιλοτιμίαν ἀναλώσας, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔχειν λοιπόν, ἑτέραν ἐκτήσατο ἀπὸ παιδείας καὶ παρὰ τῶν
4 αὐτοκρατόρων. καὶ τοίνυν εἰς αὐτὸν οὐδεμίαν φαίνεται χάριν αἰτησάμενος ἐν τοιαύτῃ φιλίᾳ καὶ σπουδῇ, φυλάττων δὲ καὶ ταμιευόμενος τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος προθυμίαν εἰς ὑμᾶς. εἰ δέ τῳ δοκεῖ φλυαρία τὸ πολιτῶν ὑμετέρων ἀναμιμνῄσκειν ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας καὶ ἀρετῆς, οὗτος οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εὖ παθεῖν αὐτὸς ὑπό του βούλεται. ἐκ τοιούτων δὴ ὄντες ἡμεῖς, εἰ καὶ σφόδρα πονηροὶ ἦμεν, ἀλλά τοι δι' ἐκείνους ἐντροπῆς τινος ἄξιοι ἦμεν, οὐχὶ λευσθῆναι ὑφ' ὑμῶν οὐδὲ καταφλεχθῆναι.
5 Σκοπεῖτε δὲ καὶ τοὐμόν, ὦ ἄνδρες, μὴ ἀγνωμόνως. ἡμῖν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ οὐσίαν κατέλιπε[1] τῇ μὲν δόξῃ μεγάλην, δυνάμει δὲ μικρὰν καὶ πολλῷ ἐλάττω ἑτέρων· οὐ μεῖον γὰρ ἢ τετταράκοντα μυριάδες ἦσαν χρεῶν καὶ πράγματα τοιαῦτα ἔξωθεν,

[1] κατέλιπε Reiske : ἀπέλιπε.

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[1] We know next to nothing of Dio's father ; even his name, Pasicrates, is recorded only by Photius.

[2] His maternal grandfather. Cf. Or. 41. 6 and 44. 5.

Now with reference to my father, there is no need for me to tell whether he was a good citizen, for you are always singing his praises, both collectively and individually, whenever you refer to him, as being no ordinary citizen.[1] You should know, however, that these words of praise of yours are of no use to him; on the other hand, when you give your approval to me, his son, then you have been mindful of him too. Again, no one could say of my grandfather[2] either that he disgraced the city or that he spent nothing on it out of his own means. For he spent on public benefactions all that he had from his father and his grandfather, so that he had nothing left at all, and then he acquired a second fortune by his learning[3] and from imperial favour. Moreover, it is plain that he asked for no favour for himself, though held in such great friendship and esteem, but rather that he guarded and husbanded for you the goodwill of the Emperor.[4] But if anyone thinks it foolishness to remind you of goodwill and nobility on the part of your own citizens, I do not know how such a man can wish to be treated well himself. Being descended, then, from such forebears, even if I were an utter knave myself, yet surely on their account I should merit some consideration instead of being stoned or burned to death by you.

But consider my own claims too, gentlemen, not unsympathetically. For my father left us an estate which, while reputed to be large, was small in value, yes, much less than that of others; for no less than four hundred thousand drachmas were in bills receivable, besides foreign business ventures of such nature

[3] We do not know what branch of learning.

[4] Possibly the Emperor Claudius.

ὥστε πολὺ τῶν χρεῶν εἶναι ταῦτα χαλεπώτερα. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀσφάλεια, ὡς εἰπεῖν, οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν τῶν ὄντων ὑπῆρχεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ αὑτοῦ[1] δυνάμει πιστεύων ἐκεῖνος ἅπαντα ἐκέκτητο, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀμφισβητή-
6 σοντος. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀπολειφθεὶς οὐδέπω μὲν καὶ νῦν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ μέρος τῶν χρεῶν διαλέλυμαι, λελειτούργηκα δὲ ὑμῖν τὰς μεγίστας λειτουργίας καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐμοῦ πλείους τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. πλουσιωτέρους δὲ ἐμοῦ πολλοὺς ὄντας ἐπίστασθε καὶ αὐτοί. τί οὖν ἐστιν ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἐμοὶ ὀργίζεσθε καὶ ἄτιμον ἐξ ἁπάντων ἐμὲ καὶ τὸν δεῖνα προβέβλησθε καὶ λίθους καὶ πῦρ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς φέρετε; καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου με φῇ λέγειν· ἴσως μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' οὐδένα οὐδὲ τῶν ἀδικούντων οὕτως ἔδει παροξύνεσθαι· πλὴν ἔμοιγε ἀπόχρη τὰ[2] κατ' ἐμαυτόν.

7 Καὶ σκοπεῖτε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὁποῖός εἰμι πολίτης ἐγώ, πρὸς ὅντινα βούλεσθε παραβάλλοντες τοσούτων[3] οὓς οὐ κατακάετε. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ χωρία μοι καὶ πάντα ταῦτα ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ γῇ· τῶν δὲ ἐμοὶ γειτνιώντων οὐδὲν πώποτε οὐδεὶς οὔτε πλούσιος οὔτε πένης—πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων μοι γειτνιῶσιν—ᾐτιάσατο ἐμὲ ὡς ἀφαιρούμενός τινος ἢ ἐκβαλλόμενος, οὔτε δικαίως οὔτε ἀδίκως. εἰμὶ δὲ αὐτὸς οὔτε[4] ὑπέρδεινος εἰπεῖν οὔτε[4] ἴσως ἁπάν-
8 των ὕστατος ἐν τῷ λέγειν. ἔστιν οὖν ὅντινα ἐν τῷ[5] λόγῳ ἐλύπησα, πρᾶγμα ἐπαγαγών τινι τῶν

[1] αὑτοῦ Emperius: αὐτοῦ.
[2] ἀπόχρη τὰ Casaubon: αὐτὸ χρὴ M, χρὴ UB.
[3] παραβάλλοντες τοσούτων Arnim, παραβάλλοντες τούτων Reiske: παραβάλλοιτ' ἐνοσούντων M, παραβάλοιθ' ἑνὸς τούτων UB.
[4] οὔτε Emperius: οὐδὲ.
[5] τῷ] deleted by Arnim.

that they were far more troublesome than the bills. For we had no security, I might say, for any part of our assets, but my father had acquired all his wealth through trusting to his own influence, believing that no one would contest his claims. Yet, left as I was in such a situation, while I have not even now succeeded in securing a settlement of that part of the loans which fell to me,[1] I have performed for you the greatest liturgies, in fact no one in the city has more of them to his credit than I have. Yet you yourselves know that many are wealthier than I am. What is it, then, that makes you angry with me, and why of all the citizens have you singled out for dishonour me and what's-his-name, and why do you threaten us with stoning and burning? And let no one say that I am speaking in behalf of that man. For though perhaps you should not be so exasperated at any one, even among the wrongdoers, still my own troubles are enough for me.[2]

And pray consider what sort of citizen I am in other respects also, comparing me with whom you please—of all whom you do not consign to the flames. For example, though I have real estate, all in your territory too, yet none of my neighbours, whether rich or poor—and many of the latter class are my neighbours too—has ever lodged complaint against me, either justly or unjustly, alleging that he was being deprived of something or being evicted. Nor am I either overclever as a speaker or, if I may say so, poorest of all in that art. Well then, is there any one whom I have injured by my words, by causing trouble for any one

[1] Dio had at least two brothers. Cf. Or. 44. 4.

[2] One may infer from Dio's language and from his failure to name his neighbour that they were not on good terms, possibly political rivals.

ἀπραγμόνων ἢ κατασκευάσας ἐπήρειαν; ἢ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐποίησα κινδυνεῦσαί τινα, ὡς Καίσαρι προσηκούσης, ἢ ἐν συνηγορίᾳ προὔδωκα;

Καὶ μὴν τῆς γε νῦν ἀπορίας οὐδεὶς μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ ἀναίτιος. πότερον γὰρ σῖτον ἁπάντων πλεῖστον γεωργῶν κατακέκλεικα τοῦτον, αὔξων τὴν[1] τιμήν; ἀλλ' ἐπίστασθε αὐτοὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ἐμῶν χωρίων, ὅτι σπάνιον εἴ ποτε ἀπεδόμην σῖτον καὶ τοῦθ' ὅταν ὑπερβάλῃ τῷ πλήθει, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοσούτοις[2] ἔτεσιν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀρκοῦντα ἔχω, ἀλλ' ἔστι μοι ἡ πᾶσα ἐπικαρπία ἐξ οἴνου καὶ βοσκημάτων. ἀλλ' ἀργύριον δανείζων οὐ βούλομαι παρέχειν εἰς τὴν τοῦ σίτου ὠνήν. οὔκουν[3] οὐδὲ περὶ τούτου οὐδέν με δεῖ λέγειν· οἴδατε γὰρ ὑμεῖς καὶ τοὺς δανείζοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοὺς δανειζομένους.

9 Τί οὖν ἐστιν ὅ γε ἐγὼ ποιῆσαι δυνάμενος, ὥστε ἀπαλλάξαι ὑμᾶς τῆς ἀπορίας, οὐ βούλομαι, ἢ διότι πρὸς ἐμὲ οὕτως ἔχετε; ὅτι νὴ Δία τὰς στοὰς ἐπὶ τῶν θερμῶν ᾠκοδόμηκα καὶ ἐργαστήρια· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ὅ φασιν ἔνιοι ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τίνα πώποτε ἢ ὑμεῖς ἢ ἄλλος τις ἀνθρώπων ἐμέμψατο ἐν ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ[4] οἰκίαν οἰκοδομοῦντα; ἢ παρὰ τοῦθ' ὁ σῖτος πλειονός ἐστι;[5] καίτοι πέντε μυριάδων ἐώνημαι τὸ χωρίον, τῷ παντὶ πλείονος τιμῆς τῆς ἀξίας. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ αἰσχύνομαι νὴ τὸν Δία

[1] τὴν added by Reiske. [2] τοσούτοις] τοιούτοις Reiske.
[3] οὔκουν Emperius : οὐκοῦν.
[4] ἐν ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ Emperius : ἢ ἀγρὸν αὐτοῦ.
[5] παρὰ τοῦθ' ὁ σῖτος πλέονός ἐστι Casaubon : παρὰ τοῦτο σῖτος πλέονός ἐστι M, ὅτι παρὰ τούτῳ σῖτος πλείων ἐστί UB.

who loves peace and quiet or by contriving some outrage against him? Or have I placed anyone in jeopardy touching his estate, pretending that it belongs to Caesar, or have I as advocate played false to any one?

Again, no man is more blameless than I am in connexion with the present shortage. Have I produced the most grain of all and then put it under lock and key, raising the price? Why, you yourselves know the productive capacity of my farms—that I rarely, if ever, have sold grain, even when the harvest is unusually productive, and that in all these years I have not had even enough for my own needs, but that the income from my land is derived exclusively from wine and cattle. Nay but, some one may claim, though I lend money, I am unwilling to supply it for the purchase of grain. There is no need for me to say anything on that score either, for you know both those who lend money in our city and those who borrow.[1]

What is it, then, which I might do to relieve you from your distress but which I refuse to do, or what is it that makes you feel toward me as you do? It is because, by Heaven, I have built the colonnades near the hot springs, and workshops too; for this is the injury some claim the city is suffering at my hands! Yet whom have either you or any other person ever taken to task for building a house on his own farm? Or is it that which makes grain dearer? Why, I bought the land at fifty thousand drachmas, a price altogether higher than its worth![2] Nay, I am

[1] Dio seems to disclaim the charge of money-lending. In those times the money-lender was not in good repute.

[2] He offers this to show that he is not of a grasping disposition.

καὶ τοὺς θεούς, εἴ τις τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐ γὰρ δή γε
ἡ πόλις, οὕτω μοχθηρός,[1] ὥστε λυπεῖσθαι καὶ
φθονεῖν ἐάν τινα ἴδῃ στοὰν ἢ ἐργαστήριον ᾠκο-
δομηκότα.

10 Καὶ μὴν τό γε πρᾶγμα ἐφ᾿ ᾧ παρωξύνθητε
δεῖται μέν τινος ἐπιμελείας ἀληθῶς, οὐ μέντοι
ἀνήκεστόν ἐστιν οὐδὲ ὥστε τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν. ἡ γὰρ
τιμὴ τοῦ σίτου τῆς μὲν συνηθείας παρ᾿ ἡμῖν πλείων
γέγονεν, οὐ μὴν ὥστε ἀπειπεῖν. ἀλλ᾿ εἰσὶ πόλεις
ἐν αἷς ἀεὶ τοσούτου ἐστὶν ὅταν ἄριστα ἔχῃ. πάλιν
αὖ θορυβεῖτε, ὥσπερ ἐμοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι καὶ παρ᾿
ὑμῖν αὐτὸν τοσούτου προσήκει εἶναι καὶ μηδέποτε
ἥττονος. ἐγὼ δέ φημι δεῖν προσέχειν μὲν ὅπως
ἐλάττονος ἔσται, μὴ μέντοι πικρῶς οὕτως ἔχειν
ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι μηδὲ ἐξεστάναι· ὡς τά γε
γενόμενα νῦν οὐχὶ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν οἷα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ
πράγματι, ἀλλ᾿ εἰ τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας
ἀνῃρήκειμεν, οὐδὲν ἂν[2] εἴχετε ποιῆσαι χαλεπώ-
11 τερον. τὸ γὰρ πολίταις ἑαυτῶν ὀργιζομένους—εἰ
μὲν ἀδίκως ἢ δικαίως ἐῶ, πολίταις δ᾿ οὖν καὶ
τούτοις ἐπιτίμοις καὶ μηδενὸς χείροσι[3]—μὴ δοῦναι
λόγον μηδὲ λαβεῖν, ἀλλ᾿ εὐθὺς λιθάζειν καὶ κατα-
καίειν τὰς οἰκίας, ἵνα, εἰ ἐδύνασθε, μετὰ τῶν
παίδων αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν συμφλέξητε,
τίνων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων; ἐμοὶ μέν, νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ
τοὺς θεούς, εἰ καὶ[4] χαλεπῶς ἀκούσεσθε, οὐ δοκεῖ
τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι τῶν ἐνδεῶς πραττόντων οὐδὲ τῶν

[1] μοχθηρός Casaubon : μοχθηρά.
[2] ἂν added by Hertlein. [3] χείροσι Morel : χεῖρον.
[4] καὶ added by Reiske.

ashamed, by all that's holy, if any of the citizens—for of course it is not the city itself—is so depraved as to feel hurt and jealous if he sees that somebody has built a colonnade or a workshop!

Besides, though the matter over which you have become incensed truly does require some attention, still it is not beyond repair or such as to make you act as you are acting. For while the cost of grain has risen higher than what is customary here, it is not so high as to make you desperate. Why, there are cities in which it always is at that price, when conditions are best! There you go, making a tumult once more,[1] as if I were saying it ought to be that price at Prusa too, and never lower. But the point I am making is that, while it is necessary to take steps to make it cheaper, still it is not necessary to feel so bitter over what has happened or to lose your senses; for the way you have acted just now is not the conduct befitting such a matter, nay, if I had murdered your children and your wives you could not have behaved with greater savagery. For to be enraged at one's own fellow citizens—I care not whether justly or unjustly, but at all events at fellow citizens, citizens in good standing, yes, as good as anybody—and not to let them explain or to make an explanation to them, but without more ado to try to stone them and burn their houses, with a view to consuming in one conflagration, if possible, them and their children and their wives—what kind of human beings act that way? In my opinion, I swear by all that's holy, no matter if you will be angry to hear it, such conduct is not that of men in needy circum-

[1] Dio seems to have been greeted with an uproar when he first rose to speak. Cf. § 1.

οὐκ ἐχόντων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα. ἡ γὰρ ἔνδεια σωφροσύνην ποιεῖ.

Καὶ ταῦτα εἰ μὴ δοκεῖτε ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγεσθαι,
12 πλεῖστον ἁμαρτάνετε. εἰ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ἔσεσθε κἂν ὀργισθῆτέ τῳ—πολλὰ δὲ εἰκὸς ὡς ἐν πόλει συμβῆναι καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἄδικα—τηλικαύτην ἀξιώσετε τιμωρίαν λαμβάνειν ὥστ᾽ εὐθὺς μετὰ τῶν παίδων κατακάειν καί τινας[1] τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθέρων, ἀναγκάζειν ὑμῖν ὁρᾶσθαι περιερρηγμένας καὶ ἱκετευούσας ὑμᾶς ὥσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ, τίς οὕτως ἀνόητος καὶ ἀτυχὴς ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν, ὅστις ἐν τοιαύτῃ πόλει ζῆν αἱρήσεται μίαν ἡμέραν; πολὺ γὰρ κρεῖττον φυγάδα εἶναι καὶ παροικεῖν ἐπὶ ξένης ἢ τοιαῦτα πάσχειν. ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ἡ πρόφασις ἡ λεγομένη[2] δι᾽ ἣν ὑμᾶς ἀποτραπῆναί φασι τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐμῆς, ὑπιδομένους τοῦ
13 στενωποῦ τὸ βάθος, ὁρᾶτε οἷόν ἐστιν. εἰ γὰρ ἐμὲ τοῦτο ἔσωσε, καιρὸς ἤδη τὸ λοιπὸν ὡς ἐν στρατοπέδῳ τῇ πόλει τὰς δυσχωρίας καταλαμβάνειν καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἢ ἀπότομα. καίτοι μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ζητοῦσιν ἄλλος ἄλλου ἀσφαλέστερον σκηνοῦν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτοῖς ἡ φυλακή ἐστιν.

Τῇ μὲν οὖν τύχῃ χάρις δι᾽ ἣν ἀπετράπετε, εἴτε τοῦτο νοήσαντες εἴτε ἄλλο ὁτιοῦν, οὐ μέντοι ἀληθῶς ὑπείδεσθε. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔγωγε ἠμυνάμην ὑμᾶς,

[1] καί τινας Selden: τινὰ καὶ.
[2] ἡ λεγομένη] ἐλάττομεν ἢ M, ἡ πλαττομένη Arnim.

stances or lacking the necessaries of life. For need develops self-control.

And if you do not suppose these remarks of mine are being offered for your good, you are very much mistaken. For if you are going to be like this and, in case you become angry with any one—and many things are likely to happen in a city, both right and wrong—you are going to see fit to exact so extreme a punishment as forthwith to try to consume with fire the victim of your rage along with his children and to force some of the women, free citizens as they are, to appear before you with garments rent, supplicating you as if in time of war, what mortal is so foolish, so unfortunate, that he will choose to live in such a city a single day? The fact is, it is far better to be an exile and a sojourner on foreign soil than to be subjected to such outrage. Why, even now the alleged reason which, they say, made you turn back from my house—having become suspicious, forsooth, at the depth of the lane[1]—see how flimsy it is! For if that is what saved me, it is high time from now on, as if the city were an armed camp, to occupy the difficult terrain and the lofty or precipitous positions! And yet, God knows, not even in armed camps does one soldier seek a safer spot than his neighbour in which to pitch his tent; no, their precautions are aimed at the men with whom they are at war.

So, although my thanks are due to the lucky chance which made you turn back, whether this was your motive or anything else at all; still you had no real reason to be suspicious. For I should not have warded you off, no, so far as that is concerned, you

[1] The lane seems to have become so eroded because of traffic and rain that they could not see over its sides.

ἀλλὰ τούτου γε ἕνεκα πολλὴ ὑμῖν ἀσφάλειά ἐστιν ὅταν βούλησθε κατακαίειν τὴν οἰκίαν, ἤρκει δέ μοι τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸ παιδίον λαβόντα ἀποχωρεῖν.

14 Καὶ μηδεὶς νομίσῃ ὡς ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ ἀγανακτῶν ταῦτα εἴρηκα μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν δεδιὼς μήποτε ἄρα διαβληθῆτε ὡς βίαιοι καὶ παράνομοι. οὐ γὰρ λανθάνει τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐδὲν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας—λέγω δὲ τοὺς μείζους ἡγεμόνας τῶν ἐνθάδε—ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῶν παιδίων τῶν ἀτακτοτέρων οἴκοι πρὸς τοὺς διδασκάλους κατηγοροῦσιν οἱ προσήκοντες, οὑτωσὶ καὶ τὰ τῶν δήμων ἁμαρτήματα πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀπαγγέλλεται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὔτε καλῶς οὔτε συμφερόντως αὑτοῖς πράττοιτε[1] ἄν, τὸ δὲ ἀξιοῦν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τοὺς δυναμένους χειροτονεῖν καὶ[2] μὴ λελειτουργηκότας, εἰ δὲ μή γε, οὓς ἂν βούλησθε, σωφρονούντων τε[3] ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ καὶ πρός γε ταῦτα οὐδεὶς ὑμῖν ἐναντιώσεται.

[1] πράττοιτε Emperius : πράττετε.
[2] After καὶ Capps deletes τοὺς. [3] τε Reiske : δὲ

[1] Cf. § 8, where Dio seems to refer to the activity of informers.
[2] It is not clear whether this proposal for the election of

are absolutely safe in burning down my house any time you please, and I was content to take my wife and baby and leave.

And let no one imagine that it is in anger over my own position that I have said these things rather than in fear for yours, lest possibly you may some day be accused of being violent and lawless. For nothing which takes place in the cities escapes the attention of the proconsuls—I mean the more important ones in these parts; on the contrary, just as relatives denounce to the teachers the children who are too disorderly at home, so also the misdeeds of the communities are reported to the proconsuls.[1] Now while such conduct as yours would not be honourable or advantageous for yourselves, to demand that there should be supervision of your market and that those men should be elected who are financially able and have not performed liturgies, but if that cannot be, that then the choice of supervisors should rest with you, this, I say, is the course of sensible human beings and in this no one will oppose you.[2]

supervisors of the market is Dio's own contribution to the discussion or whether he is merely seconding the proposal of another.

THE FORTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: A SPEECH IN THE PUBLIC ASSEMBLY AT PRUSA

THE theme of this Discourse is Dio's pet project of embellishing his native city. He seems to have conceived the idea soon after his return from exile (A.D. 96). We learn both from the present address and from Or. 40. 11 that the people of Smyrna, Ephesus, Tarsus, and Antioch, not to mention lesser communities in that quarter of the Roman world, were taking energetic measures to beautify their respective cities, and Dio was concerned that Prusa should not lag behind. The full magnitude of his ambitious scheme is suggested by Or. 45. 12-14, where he says he had dreamed of constructing not merely colonnades and fountains but also fortifications, harbours, and shipyards and of increasing the population of Prusa by attracting immigration from all directions and even by incorporating with Prusa whole communities, "as Epaminondas once brought Boeotia into union with Thebes and as Theseus had brought Attica into union with Athens."

The opening paragraphs of Or. 40 form a valuable supplement to our present Discourse, which it seems to have preceded by not more than a few months. By combining both sources of information we gather that thus far Dio's operations have been confined to the construction of one or more colonnades; that the project had been sponsored by one or more proconsuls, as well as by Trajan himself; and that it had been welcomed by the people of Prusa, who on more than one occasion had heard the plan explained and had repeatedly expressed enthusiastic approval and guaranteed financial support by private subscription. However, the work involved the demolition of older structures and the removal of certain landmarks, both sacred and profane, and

Dio soon found himself the target for hostile criticism. He seems to have been attacked on the charge of impiety and lack of local patriotism and as being chiefly concerned to serve his personal pride and ambition. It was no doubt by means of such charges that the small but energetic group of opponents tried to discourage payment of subscriptions to the building fund and thus to block proceedings. In the concluding paragraphs of the present address Dio deals ironically with the criticisms of one enemy in particular, whose gossipy remarks are treated as if they were intended for Dio's own good but who seems to have likened him to a tyrant.

Dio tells us, no doubt truthfully, that his active opponents are relatively few; yet his long exile had made him seem to be an outsider, his social and financial status undoubtedly raised him above the general level at Prusa, and his intimacy with Trajan and other influential Romans, while on occasion it was capitalized to the advantage of his people, laid him open to popular suspicion and jealousy. Again, it is human nature for men to be carried away by enthusiasm when plans are first proposed but to find their ardour cooling when work is in progress and subscriptions are falling due. Whatever may have been the cause, it is apparent that affairs have reached such a stage that Dio feels he must abandon his earlier intention of making no more public appeals in support of the work. The speech which he proceeds to deliver is notably sarcastic and bitter, but the justice of his case is made so manifest and his threat to wash his hands of Prusa is so disturbing that his hearers seem to have burst forth into shouts calling for the work to be carried forward. That it was carried forward to completion and acclaimed as a success may reasonably be inferred from the close of Or. 45, which Arnim dates in A.D. 101 or 102, at most but a few months later than the present Discourse.

We find welcome testimony regarding conditions in Bithynia in the tenth book of Pliny's *Letters*. Immediately following Pliny's entry into that province, A.D. 110 or 111, he reports (17 A and B) that finances are in bad shape, that on various pretexts private individuals are in possession of public funds, that public grants have been made for illegal purposes, but that substantial sums may be recoverable from certain contractors at Prusa. Letter 23 and Trajan's reply con-

cern a project to "repair an ancient and ruinous bath" at Prusa. A sequel is found in 70, in which Pliny proposes to abandon the original structure, once a private residence of some pretensions but now "a hideous ruin," and to build afresh in a district now "exceedingly deformed." More interesting still for our present purpose is 81, in which it is reported that Cocceianus Dio had been eager to have the Council of Prusa accept for the city "a public edifice which had been erected under his charge." A certain Flavius Archippus, acting through his attorney Eumolpus, had demanded that Dio first render an account of expenditures, charging that the work had not been carried out according to specifications and adding that Dio had been guilty of a grave offence in setting up a statue of Trajan in the same edifice in which were buried Dio's wife and son. Dio had been prompt in presenting to the proconsul the required statement and was urging a speedy hearing, but his opponents continued to create delays. We do not know the outcome of the squabble, but Trajan's reply (82), while recommending an inspection of Dio's accounts, as a matter of public interest, exhibits slight concern over the charges laid against him.

Thus we are led to infer that the popular support achieved by Or. 47 sustained Dio in the years that followed the completion of the colonnade and encouraged him to undertake with renewed zeal some of the projects associated with the ambitious program spoken of in Or. 45. 12-14. It is equally clear that he still had to contend with the opposition of some of his fellow citizens.

47. ΔΗΜΗΓΟΡΙΑ ΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ

1 Πρῶτον μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅταν ἀναστῶ, μὴ πάντως ἡγεῖσθε λόγων ἀκούσεσθαι θαυμαστῶν μηδὲ ἐπισήμων· λέγω δὲ οἷον πρὸς ἡδονήν τινα ἢ κάλλος ἢ σοφίαν εἰργασμένων. ἴσως μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν[1] ἄλλως ἦμεν ἱκανοὶ πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τύχῃ τινὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰς πόλεις πάσας ἐξηπατήσαμεν· εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλὰ νῦν πολλὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ λήθην εἰκὸς ἡμῖν γεγονέναι τῶν τοιούτων λόγων. ὁποῖα γὰρ ἂν πράττῃ τις καὶ ἐν ὁποίοις ἂν ᾖ πράγμασιν, ἀνάγκη καὶ τοὺς λόγους εἶναι παραπλησίους· ἡμεῖς δὲ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον σμικρὰ καὶ ἄδοξα πράττομεν.

2 Καὶ τοῦτο ἴσως[2] ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν· ὡς ἐγὼ πρότερον μὲν ἐθαύμαζον τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς καταλιπόντας μὲν τὰς αὑτῶν πατρίδας οὐδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος, παρ' ἄλλοις δὲ ζῆν ἑλομένους, καὶ ταῦτα ἀποφαινομένους αὐτοὺς ὅτι δεῖ τὴν πατρίδα τιμᾶν καὶ περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ὅτι πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ

[1] οὐδ' ἂν Crosby : οὐδὲ.
[2] τοῦτο ἴσως Emperius : τούτοις ὡς.

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[1] Dio speaks bitterly of the pettiness of the opposition to his favourite project of embellishing Prusa. Cf. § 8.

THE FORTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: A SPEECH IN THE PUBLIC ASSEMBLY AT PRUSA

In the first place, my friends, do not by any means suppose when I rise to speak that you are about to hear a discourse that is extraordinary or remarkable; I mean, for example, one composed to produce a kind of pleasure or to exhibit beauty or wisdom. For possibly I should not in any event have been equal to that sort of thing, but it may be that by good luck I have deceived the public and all the cities; yet be that as it may, it stands to reason that now at all events I have experienced a great lack, indeed a complete forgetfulness, of that sort of eloquence. For a man's words must needs be coloured by the nature of what he is doing and in which he is engrossed; and in my case I have long been engaged in petty and inglorious affairs.[1]

Now perhaps this experience of mine is a matter of necessity, for previously I used to be surprised at those philosophers who abandoned their own countries under no compulsion and chose to dwell among other peoples, and what is more, despite their own claim that a man should honour his fatherland and regard it as of supreme importance, and that activity in public affairs and playing one's part as a citizen is

φύσιν ἐστίν. λέγω δὲ τὸν Ζήνωνα, τὸν Χρύσιππον, τὸν Κλεάνθην, ὧν οὐδεὶς οἴκοι ἔμεινε ταῦτα λεγόντων. οὐκ ἄρα ἐφρόνουν ἃ ἔλεγον; πάντων μά-
3 λιστα, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν. ἀλλὰ καλὸν μὲν ἡγοῦντο καὶ τῷ ὄντι μακάριον καὶ πρέπον ἀνδράσι σοφοῖς[1] πρᾶγμα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πόλεως ἐπιμέλειαν[2]· τὰς δὲ ἐνούσας δυσκολίας καὶ τὰς χαλεπότητας ὑφεωρῶντο καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄγνοιαν, τῶν δὲ φθόνον, τῶν δὲ ἀγνωμοσύνην—εἰ μή[3] τις σοφὸς ὢν ἅμα δύναιτο τὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔχειν ἰσχὺν καὶ δύναμιν· τοῦτο δὲ ἀδύνατον ἡγοῦντο.

4 Καίτοι τὸν Ἡρακλέα αὐτὸν ἀκούομεν τῆς μὲν Αἰγύπτου κρατῆσαι καὶ τῆς Λιβύης, ἔτι δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον Πόντον οἰκούντων, καὶ Θρᾳκῶν καὶ Σκυθῶν, καὶ τὸ Ἴλιον ἑλεῖν μικρῷ στόλῳ παραβαλόντα καὶ πάντων ἄρξαντα τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων καὶ[4] καταστῆσαι βασιλέα αὐτόν· ὁπότε δὲ εἰς Ἄργος ἀφίκοιτο, τὴν Αὐγέου κόπρον μεταφέρειν ἢ τοὺς ὄφεις θηρᾶν ἢ τὰς ὄρνιθας διώκειν, ἵνα μὴ ἐνοχλῶσι τοὺς ἐν Στυμφάλῳ γεωργούς, ἢ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν φαῦλα καὶ ταπεινὰ προσταττόμενον[5]· τελευταῖον δὲ εἰς Ἅιδου φασὶ πεμφθῆναι αὐτόν· οὕτω σφόδρα ἐπιεικῶς[6] αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι τὸν πολίτην. τοὺς δὲ Ἀργείους καὶ Θηβαίους ἐπαι-

[1] After σοφοῖς Arnim deletes τὸ.
[2] ἐπιμέλειαν Casaubon : ἐπιμέλεια.
[3] μή Casaubon : δέ. [4] καὶ deleted by Reiske.
[5] προσταττόμενον Casaubon : προσταττόμενος.
[6] ἐπιεικῶς] ἀνεπιεικῶς Sonny.

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[1] Dio believed, as a good Stoic, that the philosopher should take part in public affairs (cf. Or. 49. 3), but sad experience made him begin to distrust the doctrine.

[2] Cf. *Iliad* 5. 638-651. According to tradition he made Priam king.

the natural duty of a human being.[1] I am referring to Zeno, Chrysippus, and Cleanthes, not one of whom stayed at home, despite these brave words. Did they not, then, mean what they said? They above all others did, to my way of thinking. Why, they regarded concern for a man's own city as a noble and truly blessed and appropriate function for men of wisdom; on the other hand, they used to view with distrust the difficulties and vexations it involved—not only ignorance on the part of some, but malice on the part of others, and sheer heedlessness on the part of still others—unless a man of wisdom could at the same time possess the strength and power of a Heracles: however, they considered this impossible.

And yet we hear of Heracles himself that, though he made himself master of Egypt and Libya, and also of the people who dwelt about the Euxine Sea, both Thracians and Scythians, and though he captured Ilium, having crossed over with a small army, and though, after gaining control over all these peoples, he actually set himself up as king[2]; still when he arrived in Argos[3] he busied himself with removing the dung from the stables of Augeas or hunting serpents[4] or chasing birds, to keep them from troubling the farmers in Stymphalus, or with performing other such menial and humble tasks at the bidding of another; and finally, they say, he was sent to Hades,[5] with such exceeding fairness did his fellow townsman[6] treat him! But we hear that, though the

[3] Having been maddened by Hera, Heracles slew his own children. By way of expiation he was made subject to his cousin, Eurystheus, king of Argos, who imposed upon him the Twelve Labours, some of which are here referred to.

[4] The Lernaean Hydra.

[5] To fetch Cerberus.

[6] Eurystheus.

νεῖν μὲν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, περιορᾶν δὲ ὑβριζόμενον.

5 Ἅ μοι δοκεῖ διανοηθεὶς Ὅμηρος, οὐ μόνον ποιητὴς ἀγαθὸς ὤν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ φιλόσοφος, τὸν ἅπαντα ἀποδημεῖν χρόνον, ὥστε μηδένα γνῶναι τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ, καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς ἔοικεν, αἱρεῖσθαι πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμὰς προσαιτῶν λαμβάνειν, καὶ ταῦτα ὡς μαινόμενος, ἢ οἴκοι διάγειν. τοιγαροῦν ἅπαντες ὕστερον ἠμφεσβήτησαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐκείνου ὄνομα παρὰ πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις γιγνώσκεται, τὴν δὲ Ἴον οὐδὲ ἀκηκόασιν οἱ πολλοὶ σχεδόν, εἴπερ ἦν Ἰήτης, καὶ τῆς Χίου[1] οὐ πολύς ἐστι λόγος οὐδὲ Κολοφῶνος· καίτοι ποιητὴν οὐ χείρονα Ὁμήρου παρέχεται, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα. Πυθαγόρας δὲ ἐκ Σάμου μὲν ἔφυγεν ἑκὼν τυραννουμένης, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, μάλιστα δὲ οἶμαι περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐτιμᾶτο ὡς θεός.

6 Τί οὖν; πάλαι τις ἤδη κάθηται λέγων, σὺ πρὸς Ὅμηρον καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Ζήνωνα παραβάλλεις αὑτόν; Μὰ Δί᾿ οὐκ ἔγωγε, πλὴν ὅτι πᾶσι τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἔδοξε χαλεπὸς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ὁ βίος. ἐπεὶ τί οἴεσθε; οὐχὶ φιλεῖν[2] τὰς πατρίδας, ἀλλὰ

[1] After Χίου Reiske deletes τῆς πόλεως.
[2] οὐχὶ φιλεῖν Emperius: οὐκ ἐφίλουν.

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[1] Heracles was born at Thebes, and many of his earlier exploits are associated with that city.

[2] Cf. Or. 11. 15-16.

[3] A well-known epigram runs as follows:

Ἑπτὰ πόλεις διερίζουσιν περὶ ῥίζαν Ὁμήρου,
Σμύρνα, Ῥόδος, Κολοφών, Σαλαμίς, Ἴος, Ἄργος, Ἀθῆναι.

Argives and Thebans [1] praised and admired Heracles, still they shut their eyes to his mistreatment.

It was the thought of this, it seems to me, which made Homer, who was not only a fine poet but also in his way a philosopher, spend all his time abroad—so much so that no one could determine his country—and prefer to get twenty-five drachmas by begging,[2] and that too in the rôle of a madman, rather than live at home. And so it was that in later days all men claimed him as their countryman.[3] Again, while Homer's name is well known among all Greeks and barbarians,[4] most men, it is safe to say, have not even heard of Ios [5]—if he really was born there—and there is not much talk of Chios or of Colophon either; and yet Colophon can show a poet not inferior to Homer, namely Apollo.[6] Again, Pythagoras of his own volition fled from Samos when it was under the tyrant,[7] and yet among all other peoples, and especially, I believe, about the shores of Italy, he was honoured as a god.[8]

"What of it," some one in this audience has been saying long since, "are you comparing yourself with Homer and Pythagoras and Zeno?" Nay, by Heaven, not I, except that it was the opinion of all the philosophers that life in their own native land was hard. For what think you? That they did not love

But we hear of many other claimants; Suidas includes in his long list even Rome itself!

[4] Cf. Or. 36. 9-10 and 53. 6-7.

[5] An island north of Thera which played an inconspicuous part in Greek history.

[6] Apollo's oracle at Clarus in Asia Minor was "in the land of Colophon" (Pausanias 7. 5. 4).

[7] Polycrates.

[8] Pythagoras established at Croton a mystic community in which he was revered, if not "honoured as a god."

τὸν Ὅμηρον ὑπὲρ μὲν Ὀδυσσέως ὀδύρεσθαι καὶ φάσκειν αὐτὸν ἐθέλειν τὸν καπνὸν ἰδόντα τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰθάκης παραχρῆμα ἀποθανεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ μὴ στέργειν τὴν αὑτοῦ πόλιν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἔρωτα καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ὁμολογεῖν, ἣν εἶχε τῆς
7 πατρίδος, ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως; ὃς δὲ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, πράττων ὅ τι δοκοίη τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τοῖς νόμοις, εἰ μέν τι μέγα ὤνησε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· τὴν δὲ βλάβην ἐπίσταμαι τὴν γενομένην αὐτοῖς. ἔτι γὰρ νῦν ὀνειδίζονται περὶ Σωκράτους, ὡς οὔτε δικαίως οὔτε ὁσίως τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσενεχθέντες, καὶ πάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων κακῶν ταύτην φασὶ συμβῆναι τὴν αἰτίαν.

8 Ταῦτα μὲν ἀκηκόατε ἄλλως παρὰ ἀνθρώπου πλάνητος καὶ ἀδολέσχου. ὃ δ' οὖν ἔφην, παραιτοῦμαι ὑμᾶς μηδένα ἀπαιτεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγον μεγαλόφρονα καὶ σοφόν, ἀλλ' ἰδιωτικὸν καὶ φαῦλον, ὁποῖα καὶ τὰ πράγματά ἐστιν. εὖ δ' ἴστε, ὥσπερ προειλόμην σιγᾶν ἀφ' οὗ νῦν ἧκον, οὐκ ἂν ἐφθεγξάμην, εἰ μή τι ἀναγκαῖον συμβεβήκει.[1] ἐγὼ γὰρ ἠψάμην πράγματος, ὅ μοι πολλῶν τῷ ὄντι πραγμάτων αἴτιον γέγονε καὶ θαυμαστῆς ἀηδίας. ὥστε πρότερον μὲν οὐκ ᾔδειν τὸ τῶν Θετταλίδων[2]

[1] συμβεβήκει Emperius : συμβέβηκεν.
[2] Θετταλίδων Herwerden : Θετταλῶν.

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[1] Cf. *Odyssey* 1. 57-59 :

αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
ἱέμενος καὶ καπνὸν ἀποθρῴσκοντα νοῆσαι
ἧς γαίης, θανέειν ἱμείρεται.

[2] Socrates. Cf. Plato, *Crito* 52 A–D.

their home-lands, but that Homer, while he lamented over Odysseus and declared that Odysseus was willing to die forthwith if only he could see the smoke rising from Ithaca,[1] did not himself cherish his own city, but, on the contrary, that he was not confessing under the name of Odysseus his own love and longing for his native heath? On the other hand, while I cannot say whether the man who always remained in his fatherland, doing whatever seemed best to his fellow citizens and the laws,[2] benefited the Athenians to any great extent, I do know the loss which they sustained in his death. For even now they still are reproached concerning Socrates for not having behaved toward him either justly or piously, and it is said that this conduct of theirs occasioned all the evils which befell them later.

Now this is merely idle talk which you have heard from a "vagabond" and a "chatterbox."[3] But as I was saying,[4] I beg you not to expect from me at present any high-minded, sage address, but rather one which is amateurish and commonplace, just as are the matters of which it treats. But let me assure you, just as from the moment of my arrival this time[5] I had purposed to maintain a discreet silence, I should not have said a single word had not something urgent taken place. For I have taken in hand a problem which has caused me many real problems[6] and amazing unpleasantness. Consequently, although formerly I did not understand what in the world was meant by the saying that the Thessalian witches

[3] Presumably Dio is quoting epithets that have been applied to him by his critics. [4] Cf. § 1.

[5] On his return from his mission to Rome, A.D. 100.

[6] Dio here puns on the conventional meanings of πρᾶγμα and πράγματα.

τί ποτέ ἐστι τὸ ἐφ' αὑτὰς τὴν σελήνην κατάγειν,
9 νῦν δὲ ἐπιεικῶς[1] ἔγνωκα. καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην ἐνίοτε ἐμακάριζον, ὅστις Σταγειρίτης ὢν—τὰ δὲ Στάγειρα κώμη τῆς Ὀλυνθίας ἦν—ἁλούσης δὲ Ὀλύνθου συγγενόμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Φιλίππῳ διεπράξατο οἰκισθῆναι πάλιν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ μόνον αὐτὸν ἔφασκον εὐτυχῆσαι τὴν εὐτυχίαν ταύτην, ὥστε τῆς πατρίδος οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι. μεταξὺ δὲ πρῴην ἐνέτυχον ἐπιστολῇ τινι ἐν ᾗ ἐστι μετανοῶν καὶ ὀδυρόμενος καὶ λέγων ὅτι τούτων τινὲς καὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους σατράπας διαφθείρουσιν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι μηδὲ ὅλως κατοικισθῆναι τὴν πόλιν.

10 Ὅπου δὲ[2] καὶ τοῦτο ἐλύπει[3] τινάς, εἰ φυγάδες ὄντες καὶ ἀπόλιδες πατρίδα ἕξουσι καὶ πολιτεύσονται κατὰ νόμους ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ, μᾶλλον δ'[4] ᾑροῦντο διοικεῖσθαι[5] κατὰ κώμας τοῖς βαρβάροις ὁμοίως ἢ σχῆμα πόλεως καὶ ὄνομα ἔχειν, ἧπου προσῆκε[6] θαυμάζειν καὶ εἰ ἄλλο τι λυπεῖ τινας; ὃ[7] δ' οὖν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐπιστέλλων γέγραφεν ὡς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπειρηκώς—φησὶ γὰρ αἴρειν τοὺς δακτύλους—κἀμὲ νομίζετε καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους δακτύλους

[1] ἐπιεικῶς Capps : ἐπιμελῶς.
[2] After δὲ Pflugk deletes τὸ κατοικισθῆναι τοῖς ἐκπεσοῦσι.
[3] ἐλύπει Reiske : λυπεῖ.
[4] δ' added by Emperius.
[5] διοικεῖσθαι] διῳκίσθαι Reiske.
[6] προσῆκε] προσήκει Selden.
[7] ὃ Emperius : ὁ.

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[1] Thessaly was noted for the practice of magic. Aristophanes, *Clouds* 749-752, makes comic reference to Thessalian women drawing down the moon. Dio appears to interpret the tradition with reference to attempting the impossible.

draw down to themselves the moon,[1] now I have come to understand it fairly well. And I used to envy Aristotle at times because, being a native of Stageira—Stageira was a village in the territory of Olynthus—and having become the teacher of Alexander and an acquaintance of Philip's after the capture of Olynthus, he brought it about that Stageira was resettled,[2] and they used to say that he alone had had the good fortune to become founder of his fatherland. But meanwhile, quite recently, I came upon a letter in which he exhibits a change of heart and laments, saying that some of these settlers are trying to corrupt, not only the king, but also the satraps who came there, so as to thwart any good outcome and to prevent entirely the resettlement of the city.

But when some persons, exiles and homeless as they were, were actually annoyed by the prospect of having a fatherland and enjoying constitutional government in independence, but preferred to be scattered in villages like barbarians rather than to have the form and name of a city, would it be proper, I ask you, to feel surprise no matter what else annoys certain persons? Accordingly, just as Aristotle has written in his letter as one who has become sick and tired of his troubles—for he says he is holding up his fingers[3]—you may consider that I too am holding up my own fingers, as well as any other fingers there

[2] Both Stageira and Olynthus were destroyed by Philip in 348 B.C. Though Olynthus was never rebuilt, Aristotle prevailed upon Alexander to restore Stageira. Cf. Plutarch, *Alexander* 7 and *Vita Aristotelis Marc.* 276 B.

[3] Greek athletes "held up their fingers" to signify acceptance of defeat; cf. Theocritus 22. 128-130. Dio's extravagant phrasing of the formula as applied to himself betrays his extreme exasperation.

11 *αἴρειν*[1] *καὶ εἴ τινές εἰσιν ἕτεροι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ πλεῖον ἴσχυσεν ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνων κακοδαιμονία τῆς τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους σπουδῆς, ὥστε οὐκ εἴασαν προβῆναι τὸ κωμίον εἰς ἀξίωμα πόλεως, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀοίκητόν ἐστιν. ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ καὶ τοῦτό μου διαβάλῃ τις, ὡς ἐγὼ Στάγειρα καὶ κώμην καλῶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην· δύναμαι γὰρ ὀμόσας εἰπεῖν μηδεμίαν ἄλλην πόλιν ἐμοὶ κρείττω πεφηνέναι, κἂν εἰ μόνον εἶχε τὸ χαλκεῖον τὸ τοῦ δεῖνος, ὃ ἐγὼ κατέλυσα ὁ τὰς πόλεις πορθῶν καὶ τὰς ἀκροπόλεις.*[2]

12 *Ἵνα δ' οὖν μὴ ἐπιλάθωμαι οὗ χάριν ἀνέστην, ἁμάρτημα ἴσως ἥμαρτον ἀνθρώπινον. νῦν οὖν τίνα με βούλεσθε ὑποσχεῖν ζημίαν ἀντὶ τούτου τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος ἢ τί ποιεῖν; ἀξιῶ συμβούλους ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι· πότερον καθελεῖν με τὸ ἔργον ταῖς ἐμαυτοῦ δαπάναις τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ποιῆσαι πάντα ὁποῖα*
13 *ἦν πρότερον; ἀλλὰ ἴσως οὐ δυνήσομαι. ἢ τί πρὸς θεῶν; εἴπατέ μοι. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ᾤμην ὁρῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα πόλεις ἄλλας φιλοτιμουμένας, οὐ μόνον τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν λέγω καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν, ἀλλὰ ταύτας τὰς ἀστυγείτονας καὶ πλησίον, τὴν τῶν Νικομηδέων, τὴν τῶν Νικαέων, τοὺς Καισαρεῖς τούτους, εὐγενεῖς μὲν ἀνθρώπους καὶ σφόδρα Ἕλληνας, πολὺ δὲ μικροτέραν τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰ-*

[1] *κἀμὲ νομίζετε καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους δακτύλους αἴρειν* Crosby: *τοὺς Ἰδαίους κἀμὲ νομίζετε* UB, *τοὺς Ἰδαίους κἀμὲ νομίζετε καὶ τοὺς ἰδαίους δακτύλους αἴρειν* M.

[2] *ἀκροπόλεις*] *νεκροπόλεις* Wilamowitz.

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[1] Here Dio seems to contradict not only what he had said at the beginning of § 9 but also the express testimony of Plutarch and the author of the *Vita Aristotelis* previously cited. Dio may have inferred from the tone of Aristotle's

are. For in truth the infatuation of those fellows proved more than a match for the exertions of Aristotle, so that they did not permit the petty village to grow to the rank of a city, and to this day the spot is uninhabited.[1] But let no one charge me with calling this city of ours a Stageira and a village; for I can declare on oath that no other city has appeared to me more excellent, even were it to possess only the smithy of So-and-so,[2] which I, the "sacker of cities and citadels,"[3] tore down.

However, that I may not forget the reason why I took the floor, perhaps I have been guilty of a human error.[4] Well then, what penalty do you want me to suffer now in payment for this error, or what do you wish me to do? I ask you to give me your advice. Should I tear down at my own expense the work thus far accomplished and make everything just as it was before? But perhaps I shall not be able to do so. Or what shall I do, in Heaven's name? Do tell me! For I thought as I perceived that other cities were ambitious in such matters—not merely the cities in Asia[5] and Syria and Cilicia, but these neighbouring cities so close at hand, Nicomedia, Nicaea, and Caesarea[6] yonder, well-born folk and very Greek, yet occupying a city much smaller than our own;—and

letter that after negotiations had gone far enough to warrant the phrase "founder of his fatherland" the project came to naught.

[2] Dio has a good deal to say on the subject of this smithy in Or. 40. 8-9.

[3] Quoting his detractors.

[4] Presumably the error of not leaving his fatherland as did the philosophers named in §§ 2-3.

[5] The Roman province of Asia.

[6] Little is known of this Caesarea. Its very location is a matter of dispute.

κοῦντας πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς πολιτευομένους παρ' ἑκάστοις, ἐὰν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρωνται,[1] τά γε τοιαῦτα ὁμοφρονοῦντας, καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τοιαῦτα ἐπιστέλλοντα τύχῃ τινί, ὅτι βούλεται πάντα τρόπον αὔξεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν—ἐπιτρέψατε δὲ ἀναγνῶναι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ Ἀριστο-
14 τέλους μακρὸν ἦν καὶ περίεργον—ᾤμην καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ταῦτα ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μηδένα λυπήσεσθαι τῆς πόλεως κατασκευαζομένης. καὶ τοῦτό γε ἀπέβη τοιοῦτον· καὶ γὰρ ἔδοξεν ὑμῖν ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ[2] καὶ πολλάκις συνεισεφέρετε αὐτοὶ καὶ προεθυμεῖσθε.

Τί οὖν βούλεσθε; ἐγὼ γὰρ ὄμνυμι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν ἅπαντας, ἦ μὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ λυπεῖν ὑμᾶς ἤ τινας ὑμῶν ἢ δοκεῖν βαρὺς οὐκ ἂν ἑλοίμην ἴδιά μοι γενέσθαι τὰ Δαρείου βασίλεια[3] ἢ τὰ Κροίσου ἢ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν πατρῴαν τὴν ἐμὴν χρυσῆν τῷ ὄντι, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὥσπερ ὀνόματι μόνον τὴν τοῦ Νέρωνος
15 καλοῦσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὄφελος οὐδὲν οἰκίας χρυσῆς, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ χύτρας χρυσῆς ἢ τῆς πλατάνου τῆς ἐν Πέρσαις. πόλεως δὲ ὄφελος[4] εὐπρεποῦς γιγνομένης, ἀέρα πλείονα[5] λαμβανούσης, εὐρυχωρίαν,[6] τοῦ μὲν θέρους σκιάν, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ἥλιον ὑπὸ

[1] διαφέρωνται Emperius: διαφέρονται.
[2] καὶ πολλὰ deleted by Arnim.
[3] βασίλεια Reiske: βασιλέως.
[4] After ὄφελος Emperius deletes οὐδὲν.
[5] πλείονα] ἡδίονα Naber.
[6] εὐρυχωρίαν] δι' εὐρυχωρίαν Casaubon.

[1] The letter here referred to may well be the same as the one mentioned in Or. 40. 5. From that passage we gather that the proconsuls of Bithynia had been corresponding with Trajan with a view to improving conditions in Prusa. The nature of such correspondence may be inferred from Pliny's interchange of letters with Trajan (see Introduction). In the

that those who enjoyed the rights of citizenship in each of these cities, no matter if they differed concerning other matters, agreed on such matters as these; and that the Emperor, as luck would have it, was sending written instructions to this effect, stating that he wishes your city to be developed in every way[1]—but just let me read you his letter, since it would take too long to read the letter of Aristotle and it would not be worth the trouble—I thought, as I was saying, that it would be this way with you people too, and that no one would be vexed because the city was being embellished. And so far as that is concerned it turned out as I had expected; for you approved these plans, and you yourselves made many and frequent contributions and showed yourselves enthusiastic.

What, then, do you wish? For I swear to you by all the gods, if it meant paining you, or any among you, or being thought a nuisance, I should not choose to have for my very own the palace of Dareius or of Croesus, or to have my own ancestral dwelling golden in very truth instead of in name alone like the house of Nero.[2] For there is no advantage in a golden house any more than there is in a golden pot or in the Persian plane tree.[3] On the other hand, there is advantage when a city becomes good-looking, when it gets more air, open space, shade in summer and in

present instance the letter from the Emperor must have been brief or Dio would hardly have resumed his sentence after having read it.

[2] Nero's *domus aurea* was a stupendous complex, which he started to build after the great fire of A.D. 64 but never completed. It did not long survive his death. The Colosseum occupies a portion of the ground which it enclosed.

[3] Commonly called golden. Cf. Or. 6. 37, 57. 12 and Herodotus 7. 27.

στέγῃ, ἀντὶ φαύλων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἐρειπίων οἰκήματα ὑψηλὰ καὶ μεγάλης πόλεως ἄξια· ἵνα ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐγενῶν πώλων καὶ τῶν σκυλάκων τὸ ἐσόμενον μέγεθος εἰκάζουσιν οἱ ὁρῶντες, ἐὰν ᾖ τὰ κῶλα ὑψηλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, ἐὰν δὲ ταπεινὰ καὶ ἀναυξῆ, φασὶν ἀεί ποτε μενεῖν τοιαῦτα, οὕτως ἔχῃ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν.

16 Ἀλλὰ τί μοι περὶ τούτων νῦν λέγειν; καλῶς μέ τις ἀηδόνα ἔφη τῶν σοφιστῶν, λοιδορῆσαι βουλόμενος· διὰ τοῦτο, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀηδόνα γλώσσαργόν φασιν οἱ ποιηταί. ἴσως δ' ἂν ὅμοιος εἴην τοῖς τέττιξι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον διψῶντες ᾄδουσιν ὑπὸ ἀνοίας οὐδὲν ὠφελούμενοι.[1] πλὴν τοσοῦτό γε μόνον οὐκ ἄξιον ἴσως παραλιπεῖν περὶ τῶν μνημάτων[2] καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὅτι τοὺς Ἀντιοχέας οὐκ εἰκός ἐστιν οὐδενὸς ἅψασθαι τοιούτου· πολὺ γὰρ πλείω[3] τόπον ἐποίουν τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν, ὧν ἡ πόλις ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων ἐστὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ στοὰς ἑκατέρωθεν πεποιήκασιν· οὐδὲ τοὺς Ταρσεῖς οὐδὲ μὴν[4] Νικομηδεῖς, οἳ ἐψηφίσαντο
17 τὰ μνήματα μεταίρειν. ὁ δὲ Μακρῖνος, ὃν εὐεργέτην ἀνεγράψατε τῆς πόλεως, τὸ Προυσίου τοῦ βασιλέως μνημεῖον μετήνεγκεν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τὸν ἀνδριάντα. οὐδεὶς γάρ ἐστι παρ' ἐκείνοις

[1] Cf. Kock, *C.A.F.* III. Adespota 408.
[2] μνημάτων Selden : ὑπομνημάτων.
[3] πλείω Reiske : ἐλάττω.
[4] μὴν Sonny : νῦν.

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[1] Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* 500 b—501 a, notes that the young of the lower animals develop in proportion to their legs.

winter sunshine beneath the shelter of a roof, and when, in place of cheap, squat wrecks of houses, it gains stately edifices that are worthy of a great city, the purpose being that, just as with well-bred colts and puppies, those who see them can forecast their future height if the legs are long and sturdy, whereas if they are short and stunted men say they will always remain so,[1] thus it may be also with our city.

But what use is there in my speaking of these things now? One of the sophists did well to call me a nightingale, though he intended it as an insult; his reason, no doubt, was that the poets call the nightingale a tiresome chatterer. But perhaps I may be like the cicadae; for when parched with thirst from exposure to the sun, they sing out of sheer folly, since they are in no wise benefited thereby. Yet perhaps I should not fail to add this much at least on the subject of the tombs and shrines, namely, that it is not likely that the people of Antioch did not lay hands upon anything of this kind; the reason is that they were providing much more space than we are, for their city is thirty-six stades in length and they have constructed colonnades on both sides[2]; nor is it likely that the people of Tarsus did not either; nor indeed the people of Nicomedia, who passed a resolution to transfer their tombs. And Macrinus, whom you have recorded as a benefactor of the city, removed from the market-place the tomb of King Prusias,[3] and his statue as well. The explanation is that the cities

[2] The extensive colonnades of Antioch on the Orontes, third city in the Empire, were doubtless of recent construction (cf. Or. 40. 11) and may well have necessitated the removal of tombs and shrines. Tarsus too had recently been active in building (*loc. cit.*).

[3] Founder of Prusa.

φιλόπολις ἀνὴρ οὐδὲ[1] ἐπιμελὴς περὶ τοὺς θεούς· ἀλλὰ παρά γε ἡμῖν ἦσαν πολλοί.

Πλὴν ταῦτα μὲν ὅπως ποτὲ δοκεῖ.[2] τί γὰρ ἐμοὶ τῆς ἐνθάδε στοᾶς; ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔχοντά με ὅποι βούλομαι περιπατεῖν, τὴν Ποικίλην Ἀθήνησι, τὴν Περσικὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, τὰς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὰς χρυσᾶς, ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ἀντιοχέων, τῶν Ταρσέων, μετὰ πλείονος τιμῆς, ἢ μόνον ἐξιόντα με καὶ περιπατήσοντα, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδένα πολιτῶν. ἀλλ' οὔτε γυμνάσιον ἐν πόλει μόνος οὐδεὶς ἔχει γυμναζόμενος οὔτε στοὰν οὔτε βαλανεῖον οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν δημοσίων οὐδέν. ἢ ἐγὼ[3] τετύφωμαι καὶ ἀνόητός εἰμι.

18 Πλὴν ὅ γε ἠξίωσα, συμβουλεύσατέ μοι. ὡς ἐγὼ βουλόμενος ὑμῖν ἀρέσκειν πάντα τρόπον ἀπορῶ. νῦν γὰρ ἐὰν ἅπτωμαι τοῦ πράγματος καὶ σπουδάζω γίγνεσθαι τὸ ἔργον, τυραννεῖν μέ φασί τινες καὶ κατασκάπτειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐνέπρησα[4] τὸν νεὼ τοῦ Διός. καίτοι[5] τοὺς ἀνδριάντας[6] ἐκ τοῦ μύκωνος[7] ἐρρυσάμην, καὶ νῦν ἐν τῷ φανερωτάτῳ κεῖνται τῆς πόλεως. ἐὰν δὲ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγω, μὴ βουλόμενος μηδένα στένειν[8] μηδὲ προσκρούειν μηδενί, βοᾶτε ὑμεῖς, Γιγνέσθω

[1] ἀνὴρ οὐδὲ Emperius : οὐδὲ ἀνήρ.
[2] δοκεῖ Emperius : ἐδόκει.
[3] After ἐγὼ Arnim adds μόνος οὕτω.
[4] ἐνέπρησα Reiske : ἐνέπρησαν.
[5] Διός. καίτοι Crosby : Διὸς καὶ.
[6] After ἀνδριάντας Reiske suspected a lacuna.
[7] μύκωνος Capps, μυλῶνος Casaubon : μυδῶνος or μύδωνος.
[8] στένειν] στείνειν Emperius.

[1] So named for its murals, the work of most famous artists. It was the meeting-place of the Stoics, who owed their name to that fact.

[2] According to Pausanias (3. 11. 3), it was built from the

I have named have no one who is public-spirited or scrupulous in religious matters: but *we* had many such!

However, just suit yourselves in these matters. For what concern of mine is the colonnade in this city? As if I could not promenade in any place I please—in the Painted Porch at Athens,[1] in the Persian Porch at Sparta,[2] in the golden colonnades in Rome,[3] in those of Antioch and Tarsus—attended by marks of greater respect, or as if I expected that I alone should sally forth and promenade but no other citizen![4] Why, no one has either a municipal gymnasium all to himself where he exercises or a colonnade or a bath or any other public structure. Or else I have become demented and feeble-minded.

However, as I have requested,[5] give me your advice. For though it is my desire to please you in every way possible, I am at a loss. For as things are now, if I take the business in hand and try to get the work done, some persons say I am acting the tyrant[6] and tearing down the city and all its shrines. For of course it was I who set fire to the temple of Zeus! Yet I saved the statues from the scrap-pile, and now they are placed in the most conspicuous spot in the city. But if, on the contrary, I hold my peace, not wishing to make any one groan or to give offence to any one, you cry out, "Let the work proceed, or else

spoils of the Persian War and was the most striking ornament of the market-place.

[3] Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, lists some thirty-three colonnades at Rome.

[4] Dio's enemies may have suggested that his operations were for his own gratification. See Introduction.

[5] Cf. § 14.

[6] Cf. § 23.

τὸ ἔργον ἢ καθαιρείσθω τὸ γεγονός· ὥσπερ ἐμοὶ
19 *τοῦτο προφέροντες καὶ ὀνειδίζοντες. τί οὖν βού-*
λεσθέ με[1] *ποιεῖν; ὃ γὰρ ἂν εἴπητε, τοῦτο ποιήσω*
καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων οὐδὲν ἀντερῶ,[2] *οὐδὲ*
ἂν ᾖ τις ἔργον πεποιηκὼς ὑπὲρ οὗ λόγον μὴ δέδω-
κεν, οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἔτι[3] *ποιῶν καὶ χρήματα λαμβάνων*
ἀεὶ παρὰ τῶν κατ᾽ ἔτος ἀρχόντων, ὥσπερ εἰς τὸν
ἄπληστον πίθον τάδε ληψόμενος, οὐδὲ ἂν ἄλλο τι
γίγνηται· τί γὰρ ἐμοὶ τούτων; διὰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς
στοᾶς οὐ διελεύσομαι,[4] *σαφῶς ἴστε. ἀλλὰ ποιεῖν*[5]
καὶ προσιέναι καὶ παρακαλεῖν τὸν ἀνθύπατον, ὅπως
πρᾴως καὶ πρὸς δύναμιν εἰσπράττῃ τοὺς ὑπεσχη-
μένους; καὶ τοῦτο ἕτοιμος ποιεῖν οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ αὐτὸς συμβάλλεσθαι μέρος τῆς ὑποσχέσεως,
20 *ὥστε*[6] *κουφίζεσθαι τοὺς ἄλλους. μόνον ἕν τι προσ-*
τάξατε· εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔξω βοώντων ὑμῶν,
μᾶλλον δὲ ἄπειμι. οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἡ ἀλώπηξ κατα-
φαγοῦσα τὰ κρέα[7] *οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς*
δρυὸς διὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι, κἀμοὶ ἐξελθεῖν διὰ
τοῦτο χαλεπόν· πολὺ γὰρ γέγονα λεπτότερος ἢ ὅτε
εἰσῆλθον.

Καὶ πρὸς θεῶν μή μοι νομίζετε χαρίζεσθαι περὶ

1 *βούλεσθέ με*] *βούλεσθε; μὴ* Emperius.
2 *οὐδὲν ἀντερῶ* added by Reiske.
3 *ἔτι* Emperius : *ὅτι* or *ὦτι*.
4 After *διελεύσομαι* Reiske adds *μόνος*.
5 *ποιεῖν*] *πονεῖν* Geel.
6 *ὥστε* Emperius : *τε* or *καί*.
7 *κρέα*] *κηρία* Geel.

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1 Dio himself was later to be taken to task for not having rendered an account of expenditures (Pliny, *Letters* 10. 81). Possibly, however, Dio here is thinking rather of work that has reached completion in contrast with work still in progress.

2 The active interest of the proconsul in the financial

let what has been accomplished to date be torn down!"—as if by this you were taunting and reproaching me. Well, what do you wish me to do? For I will do whatever you say, and as to everything else I will raise no objection, no matter if some one has done a job for which he has rendered no accounting,[1] no matter if he is still at work and receiving funds regularly from the annual officials, just as if he were destined to continue receiving these funds for the jar that never fills, no matter what else may take place—for what have I to do with these matters? For I shall not go walking through your colonnade, you may be sure. But do you wish me to go ahead with the work, and to visit the proconsul and beg him to collect the subscriptions,[2] gently and with regard to ability to pay, from those who have promised them? I am ready to do even this; not only so, but even to contribute a portion of what has been subscribed myself, so as to lighten the burden of the rest. Only do give me *some* instructions; otherwise I shall hold my peace and let you shout—or rather I shall go away. For unlike the fox who ate the meat and could not get out of the oak because she had stuffed herself,[3] I shall find no difficulty in getting out on that score, for I have grown much thinner than I was when I came in.[4]

And in Heaven's name don't imagine you are showing me kindness when you shout about the

soundness of his province is shown by the letters of Pliny (e.g. 10. 23).

[3] Aesop 31.

[4] Dio had not only contributed generously (cf. § 21: καὶ μὴ στοὰν οἰκοδομεῖν μηδὲ ἀναλίσκειν, κτλ.) but also had neglected his own affairs because of concern for public interests (Or. 40. 2).

τῆς στοᾶς ἐπιβοῶντες. ἐμοὶ γὰρ εἷς ἀνήρ ἐστιν ὁ χαριζόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει σχεδόν, ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκούω, καὶ μάλιστα προνοῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ συμφερόντων· καὶ οὔτε φίλος οὔτε συγγενὴς οὕτως οὐδεὶς ἐμοῦ κήδεται. σκοπεῖτε δὲ εἰ δόξει καλῶς ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ
21 λογίζεσθαι καί με ἀγαπᾶν, ὃς πρῶτον οἴεταί με δεῖν πολλὰ κινδυνεύσαντα καὶ πονήσαντα τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἐνθάδε ἄγειν[1] καὶ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ προσέχειν καὶ μήτε ἡγεμόνας θεραπεύειν μήτε ἄλλην ἀσχολίαν μηδεμίαν ἔχειν· ἔπειτα σμικρόν τι μέρος εὑρηκότα τῆς οὐσίας, καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πρότερον βλάβαις ἔτι καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀποθανούσης ὠφεληθέντα μὲν μηδέν, ἀπολέσαντα δὲ πάντα ὅσα τῶν ἐμῶν εἶχε, δανεισάμενόν τε ὥστε τὰ χωρία πρίασθαι, τοῦτο ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος καὶ τὰ πρότερον ὀφειλόμενα, καὶ μὴ στοὰν οἰκοδομεῖν μηδὲ ἀναλίσκειν παρὰ
22 δύναμιν· ἔπειτα συνηθείας οὔσης μοι πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ἴσως δὲ καὶ φιλίας, καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους πολλοὺς τοὺς δυνατωτάτους σχεδόν τι Ῥωμαίων, ἐκείνοις συνεῖναι τιμώμενον καὶ θαυμαζόμενον, ἀλλὰ μὴ παρ' ὑμῖν πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὸν δεῖνα ἐξεταζόμενον[2]· εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἀποδημῶν ἥδομαι, τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις ἐπιέναι μετὰ πολλοῦ ζήλου καὶ φιλοτιμίας παραπεμπόμενον, χάριν εἰδότων μοι

[1] ἄγειν Emperius : ἀγαγεῖν.
[2] ἀλλὰ μὴ . . . ἐξεταζόμενον deleted by Emperius because of resemblance to πρὸς δὲ τὸν δεῖνα, κτλ. (§ 23).

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[1] The crowd must have shouted its approval of his project.
[2] From this point on Dio ironically presents as friendly advice what must have been hostile criticism on the part of his unnamed "adviser."

colonnade,[1] for there is, I may say, only one man in the city, so I hear, who is showing me kindness and taking special thought for my welfare; moreover, no one, whether friend or kinsman, shows concern for me in that way.[2] But consider whether you will think he reasons well in my behalf and is devoted to me, seeing that, in the first place, he believes that after all my perils and hardships I should live here quietly and devote myself to my private affairs and neither cultivate proconsuls[3] nor have any other occupation; also, since I have recovered only a small part of my property, and since, on top of my earlier losses, when my sister died I not only derived no profit from her estate but even lost everything of mine that she controlled[4] and had to make a loan for the purchase of my farm, he argues that I should repay this obligation, as well as the earlier debts, and not be building a colonnade or incurring expenses beyond my ability to carry; furthermore, since I am on terms of acquaintance, perhaps even of intimacy, with the Emperor, as well as with many others who may be called the most influential among the Romans, he suggests that I should associate with them, enjoying their esteem and admiration,[5] instead of being taken to task in your city before this or that individual; again, if I really like foreign travel, I should, he says, visit the greatest cities, escorted with much enthusiasm and éclat, the recipients of my visits be-

[3] Dio's unofficial dealings with the proconsul doubtless aroused resentment. There is a sting in θεραπεύειν.

[4] She probably had held some of his property for him during his exile.

[5] Dio seems to have been indiscreet in referring too frequently to his influential friends at Rome. His provincial neighbours held it against him.

παρ' οὓς ἂν ἀφίκωμαι καὶ δεομένων λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν καὶ περὶ[1] τὰς ἐμὰς θύρας ἰόντων[2] ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ, μηδὲν ἀναλώσαντα μηδὲ προστιθέντα, ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἅπαντας καὶ τυχὸν ἂν εἰπεῖν τινας,

ὢ πόποι, ὡς ὅδε πᾶσι φίλος καὶ τίμιός ἐστιν
ἀνθρώποις, ὅτεών κε[3] πόλιν καὶ δῆμον ἵκηται·

23 ἀλλὰ μὴ δαπανᾶν μὲν ἐξ ὀλίγων ὑπαρχόντων, ἀσχολεῖσθαι δὲ ἀσχολίας ἀνωφελεῖς, τὸ δὲ σῶμα, θεραπείας δεόμενον καὶ πολλῆς προσοχῆς, καταφθείρειν ἀμελοῦντα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἐᾶν ἄγευστον[4] φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῶν τοιούτων μαθημάτων, πρὸς δὲ τὸν δεῖνα ἐξετάζεσθαι ἢ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ κακῶς ἀκούειν ἐνίοτε καὶ δάκνεσθαι.

Πρὸς θεῶν ὁ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ φροντίζων καὶ διαλεγόμενος οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων εὐνούστατος ἐμοὶ καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ φιλεῖσθαι δίκαιος; ὅταν δὲ ἀκούω λέγειν τινὰ ὡς περὶ τυράννου, παράδοξον ἐμοὶ φαίνεται καὶ γελοῖον.

24 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐπίσταμαι τῶν τυράννων ἔργα τοιαῦτα, μοιχεύειν γυναῖκας ἀλλοτρίας καὶ διαφθείρειν παῖδας, ἀνθρώπους ἐλευθέρους τύπτειν καὶ[5] αἰκίζεσθαι πάντων ὁρώντων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ στρεβλοῦν, οἷον εἰς ζέοντα λέβητα καθιέντας, ἄλλους δὲ καταπιττοῦν[6]· ὧν οὐδὲν ἐγὼ ποιῶ· ἑτέραν δὲ γυναῖκα τύραννον Σεμίραμιν, ὅτι πρεσβυτέρα τὴν ἡλικίαν οὖσα καὶ μάχλος ἠνάγκαζε συγγίγνεσθαί τινας ἑαυτῇ. τῶν

[1] περὶ] πρὸς Reiske, ἐπὶ Dindorf.
[2] ἰόντων] ὄντων Emperius.
[3] κε Arnim: καί.
[4] ἄγευστον Reiske: τῶν.
[5] καὶ added by Reiske.
[6] καταπιττοῦν] καταπιττοῦντας Wilamowitz.

[1] This sounds like a malicious echo of what Dio may have reported regarding his recent sojourn in Rome.

ing grateful for my presence and begging me to address them and advise them and flocking about my doors from early dawn,[1] all without my having incurred any expense or having made any contribution, with the result that all would admire me and perhaps some would exclaim,

> Ye gods ! how dear and honoured is this man
> To whatsoever town and folk he comes [2] ;

but I should not spend money out of slender resources, be busied with unprofitable ventures, destroy with neglect my body, which calls for treatment and much attention, allow my soul to go so long without a taste of philosophy and kindred subjects, and be called to account before this or that man and be subjected to abuse at times and made to smart.

By Heaven, is not the man who frets and reasons thus in my behalf most well disposed toward me of all and most deserving of my love ? However, when I hear that a certain person is talking about me as if I were a tyrant, it seems to me to be amazing, yes, ridiculous. For according to my understanding tyrant's acts are like the following : seduction of married women and ruining of boys, beating and maltreating free men in the sight of all, sometimes even subjecting men to torture, as, for example, plunging them into a seething cauldron, and at other times administering a coat of tar ; but I do naught of this. Furthermore, I know regarding a female tyrant, Semiramis,[3] that, being advanced in years and lustful, she used to force men to lie with

[2] *Odyssey* 10. 38-39.

[3] Assyrian queen, best known as a builder. The scandalous gossip here reported is found nowhere else.

δὲ τυράννων τὸν δεῖνα[1] ἀκήκοα ταὐτὰ[2] ποιοῦντα,[3] πρεσβύτην θρασύν.

25 Ὧν τί πρὸς ἐμέ ἐστιν; ἢ ὅτι τὴν οἰκίαν οἰκοδομῶ πολυτελῶς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐῶ πίπτειν; ἢ ὅτι πορφύραν αὐτὸς ἠμφίεσμαι, ἀλλ' οὐ φαῦλον τριβώνιον; ἀλλ' ὅτι κομῶ καὶ γένεια ἔχω; τοῦτο δ' ἴσως οὐ τυραννικόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ βασιλικόν. ἔφη δ' οὖν τις ὅτι καὶ τὸ κακῶς ἀκούειν καλῶς ποιοῦντα[4] καὶ τοῦτο βασιλικόν ἐστιν.

[1] τὸν δεῖνα Emperius, ἕνα Wilamowitz : οὐδένα.
[2] ταὐτὰ Crosby : ταῦτα.
[3] After ποιοῦντα Reiske adds εἰ μὴ Τιβέριον, retaining οὐδένα.
[4] ποιοῦντα Upton : ποιοῦντας.

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[1] Wilamowitz conjectures that Tiberius is the anonymous

her. And of male tyrants I have heard it said that so-and-so did the same thing, outrageous old sinner![1]

But what has all this to do with me? Is it because I build my house in costly style[2] instead of letting it tumble down? Or because I myself wear purple instead of a miserable rag of a cloak? Can it be because I wear long hair and have a beard?[3] But, possibly this is not the mark of a tyrant but rather of a king. However that may be, some one[4] has said that being roundly abused, though doing kindly deeds, is also a mark of royalty.

offender. Tacitus and others hint at his indulgence in unnatural vices.

[2] This suggestion and the one which follows were doubtless made in irony. They do not accord with what is known of Dio in his philosophic period.

[3] On his addiction to long hair, cf. Or. 35. 2.

[4] Alexander the Great, according to Plutarch; Antisthenes, according to Marcus Aurelius.

THE FORTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: A POLITICAL ADDRESS IN ASSEMBLY

This address, like the one preceding, is closely related to Dio's project for embellishing Prusa, of which we are to hear no more. The immediate occasion is the presence in Prusa of Varenus Rufus, newly appointed proconsul of Bithynia. He has just arrived in the province and plans on the morrow to leave Prusa on a tour of inspection. The populace of Prusa, exercising its newly regained right of public assembly, has gathered for the purpose of greeting the new governor. Dio pleads with them not to treat the occasion as an opportunity to air their local grievances against certain fellow townsmen, but to present a united front and postpone to a later date such charges as may require attention. These charges appear to involve members of the upper class at Prusa, some of whom have been tardy in paying their pledges to the building project (§ 11), while others are accused of having state money in their possession (§§ 3 and 9), presumably obtained in connexion with that same enterprise. Dio urges patience and a sympathetic treatment of the points at issue, defending the character of the persons involved and extolling the blessings of concord.

If the date of the proconsulship of Varenus were known, the dating of this Discourse would present no problem. By close reasoning from internal evidence Arnim arrives at the summer of A.D. 102 as the date of the address. Of importance for his argument is the turmoil in Bithynia, so prominent in this speech, a turmoil which Arnim connects with the maladministration of the province by Julius Bassus, the

immediate predecessor of Varenus. Although Dio is at great pains to minimize the manifestations of unrest at Prusa and to attribute them to infection from without, the space devoted to that effort is in itself fair proof that conditions at Prusa must have been bad

48. ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟΣ ΕΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΙ

1 Πρῶτον μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῷ κρατίστῳ Οὐαρηνῷ
δεῖ χάριν ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἄλλην προ-
θυμίαν ἣν ἐπιδέδεικται πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ὅτι
βουλομένοις ἡμῖν ἐκκλησιάσαι πάλιν ἐφῆκεν οὐ
μόνον ἑτοίμως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡδέως. τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν
πιστεύοντος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰδότος ὅτι πρὸς οὐδὲν ἄτο-
πον χρήσεσθε τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ. οὔτε γὰρ ξύλα χλωρὰ
δήπουθεν οὐδεὶς συντίθησιν ὥστε κάεσθαι, προ-
ειδὼς ὅτι ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι καπνὸν πολὺν καὶ
ἄτοπον, οὔτε τεταραγμένον δῆμον εἰς ταὐτὸ συν-
άγει νοῦν ἔχων ἡγεμών, ἀλλὰ ἂν μή τις μείζων
2 ἀνάγκη καταλάβῃ. νῦν οὖν ὑμέτερον ἔργον ἐστὶ
μὴ ψεύσασθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἐπιδεῖξαι
σωφρόνως καὶ καλῶς αὐτοὺς ἐκκλησιάζοντας, καὶ
πρῶτον, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καλλωπίσασθαι τῇ φιλίᾳ τῇ
πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ, κἂν δεῦρο ἀφίκηται
παρακληθείς, περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἐβοᾶτε ὑπερ-
θέσθαι· ζητήσει γὰρ αὐτὸς τὰ δημόσια, κἂν ὑμεῖς
κωλύειν θέλητε. τὸ δὲ νῦν εὐχαριστήσατε καὶ
δεξιώσασθε καὶ μετ' εὐφημίας καὶ τιμῆς ὑποδέξα-

[1] The right of assembly had been abrogated, probably because of riots.

[2] I.e., to visit the Assembly. Cf. § 15.

THE FORTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: A POLITICAL ADDRESS IN ASSEMBLY

In the first place, my friends, we ought to feel grateful to the most noble Varenus, not only for the general goodwill he has displayed toward our city, but also because, when we wished to hold an assembly once more, he gave his permission, not only readily but even gladly.[1] For this was the act of one who trusts you and knows you will not use the privilege for any disagreeable purpose. For just as no one, I assume, collects green logs to build a fire, knowing in advance that there is bound to be much disagreeable smoke, so no proconsul of good judgement convenes a meeting of a community which is in a state of turmoil, unless some major emergency overtakes him. On the present occasion, therefore, it is your duty not to prove false to his conception of you, but rather to show yourselves temperate and well-behaved in assembly, and first and foremost, I believe, to adorn yourselves with mutual friendship and concord, and if he comes in answer to our invitation,[2] to defer the other matters about which you were so vociferous: for he will inquire into the public problems himself, even if you wish to prevent him. But for the present express your appreciation of his goodness, greet him with applause, and welcome him with auspicious

σθε, ἵνα μὴ ὥσπερ ἰατρὸς πρὸς νοσοῦντας ὑπόπτως καὶ ἀηδῶς θεραπείας ἕνεκεν, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς
3 ὑγιαίνοντας ἡδέως καὶ προθύμως παρῇ. καὶ γὰρ δὴ νῦν μὲν ἄπεισι μετὰ τὴν τήμερον ἴσως ἡμέραν, ἀφικνεῖται δὲ ὀλίγον ὕστερον· καὶ τότε, ἂν μὴ πρότερον αὐτοὶ πείσωμεν ὑμᾶς,[1] εἴ τις ἄρα τῶν δημοσίων ἔχει τι, καὶ δικασταῖς καὶ διαιτηταῖς ἀλλήλοις χρησάμενοι, τότε ἐξέσται καὶ λέγειν καὶ καταβοᾶν. τό γε μὴν προεξανίστασθαι[2] μὴ σφόδρα ἄγνωμον ᾖ. ποῦ γὰρ ἀπεπειράθητε ἢ πότε ἠξιώσατέ τι[3] παρ' αὐτῶν; ἢ τίς ὑμῖν οὐχ ὑπήκουσε;

Καὶ τὴν εὐφημίαν τὴν εἰς ἐμέ, ἐγὼ δέομαι, τρέψατε εἰς ἅπαντας. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ἑστιάσει πάνυ αἰσχρόν ἐστιν ἕνα τῶν κατακειμένων πίνειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ μόνον τῷ οἰνοχόῳ δυσκολαίνομεν,[4] ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πίνοντι, τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς πολιτι-
4 κοῖς ἐπαίνοις ἐστίν. καὶ ταῦτα ποιοῦντες αὐτοὺς κοσμήσετε, ὡς ἔστι κόσμος πόλεως μέγιστος ὁ τῶν πολιτῶν ἔπαινος. ἐπὶ τίνι γὰρ ἄλλῳ μέγα φρονεῖτε; οὐ μεγέθει μὲν ἕτεραι διαφέρουσι πόλεις καὶ νὴ Δία πλούτῳ καὶ περιουσίᾳ καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις οἰκοδομήμασιν; ἓν δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν ᾧ φιλοτιμούμεθα σχεδὸν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, τὸ ἔχειν ἄνδρας ἱκανοὺς καὶ πρᾶξαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἀγαπῶντας τὴν πατρίδα. ἐὰν δέ τις

[1] ὑμᾶς] ἡμᾶς Reiske.
[2] προεξανίστασθαι] προεπανίστασθαι Wilamowitz.
[3] τι added by Emperius, ἀκούειν Reiske.
[4] δυσκολαίνομεν Emperius : δυσκολαίνειν.

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[1] Dio and his associates. Cf. § 10.
[2] Cf. § 9.
[3] Dio is referring to those charged with possessing state funds.

words and honour, to the end that he may visit you, not as a physician visits the sick, with apprehension and worry over their treatment, but rather as one visits the well, with joy and eagerness. For though now, indeed, he will possibly leave here to-morrow, he will return a little later; and then, unless in the meantime we ourselves [1] can win you to our view, in case some one really has something belonging to the commonwealth,[2] by using one another as both judges and arbitrators, then, I say, you will have the opportunity not only to speak but also to shout others down. At all events I suspect it is very senseless to start a riot prematurely. For where have you put the matter to the test, or when have you made any demand upon them,[3] or who has refused to listen to you?

Furthermore, I do entreat you, address to all the praise you are offering me.[4] For just as at a banquet it is very disgraceful for only one of the guests to be drinking, and for this reason we take umbrage, not merely at the cupbearer, but also at the man who is drinking, this same principle obtains in regard to the official resolutions of commendation. Besides, if you do this, you will be bringing honour upon yourselves, since the greatest honour a city has is the praise its citizens receive. On what else do you base your pride? Do not other cities excel you in point of size, and also, God knows, in wealth and plenty and their public edifices? However, this is the one particular in which we rival practically all the world, namely, our having men competent both to act and to speak, and, what is the most important of all, men who love their country. But if any one takes this from you, to

[4] Praise for the achievements referred to in § 11.

ὑμῶν τοῦτο ἀφέληται, ποίας πόλεως καὶ τῆς βραχυτάτης δόξετε ἀμείνους; νῦν γάρ, ἐὰν διενεχθῆτε πρός τινα πόλιν, ὃ μηδεὶς ποιήσειε θεῶν, ἔπειτα δ'[1] ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἡμετέρους πολίτας λοιδορῶσι λέγοντες ὅτι εἰσὶν ἅρπαγες, ἄπιστοι, πῶς οἴσετε; οὐχ[2] ἕξετε χαλεπῶς; οὐκ εὐθὺς βοήσετε, λοιδορήσεσθε, εἰς χεῖρας τυχὸν ἐλεύσεσθε, ὃ γέγονε πολλάκις
5 πρότερον; εἶθ' ἃ λεγόντων ἑτέρων οὐκ ἀνέχεσθε ἀκούοντες, ταῦτα ἐρεῖτε αὐτοὶ καθ' ἑαυτῶν; ἐάν ποτε γένηται διαφορά, κἀκεῖνοι προφέρωσιν ὑμῖν τὸ πονηροὺς ἔχειν πολίτας,[3] τὸ στασιάζειν, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε; ὡς ἔγωγε τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν ὀμνύω πάντας, ἦ μὴν σφόδρα ἠχθέσθην εἰπόντος μοί τινος, Διάλλαξον τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠγανάκτησα. μὴ γὰρ ἴδοιμι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐν ᾗ διαλλαγῶν ὑμεῖς δεήσεσθε, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐχθρῶν, φασί, κεφαλὰς τὰ τοιαῦτα τρέποιτο, τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἰς τοὺς καταράτους Γέτας, εἰς μηδένα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν.

6 Τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπιδημίας ὄφελος, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα πειθομένους ὑμᾶς ἄγοιμεν, λόγων ἀεὶ συναγωγῶν[4] ὁμονοίας καὶ φιλίας συναράμενοι, καθ' ὅσον οἷοί τέ ἐσμεν, ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ ἔριν καὶ φιλονεικίαν ἄλογον καὶ ἀνόητον ἐξαιροῦντες πάντα τρόπον; καλὸν γὰρ δὴ καὶ συμφέρον ὁμοίως ἅπασι πόλιν ὁμογνώμονα ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ φίλην αὑτῇ

[1] δ' added by Capps. [2] οὐχ Arnim : πῶς.
[3] τὸ πονηροὺς ἔχειν πολίτας deleted by Arnim.
[4] λόγων ἀεὶ συναγωγῶν Emperius : λόγον ἀεὶ συναγωγόν.

what city, even the humblest, will you be deemed superior? For now, in case you have a quarrel with any city—which may none of the gods bring to pass!—and the people of that city consequently revile our citizens, saying they are rapacious, untrustworthy, in what temper will you take it? Will you not be angry? Will you not straightway shout, be abusive, possibly come to blows, as has often happened in the past? Then what you do not tolerate from the lips of others will you yourselves say against yourselves? If ever a quarrel arises and your adversaries taunt you with having wicked citizens, with dissension, are you not put to shame? As for myself, I swear to you by all the gods, I was indeed violently angry when a certain person[1] said to me, "Bring reconciliation to the city," and I was vexed with him. For may I never see the day when you need reconciliation, but, as the saying goes, may such things be diverted to the heads of our enemies, that is, to the accursed Getae, but not to any others, members of our own race.

Why, what would be the good of my presence here, if I should fail to lead you to such a policy by persuasion, having constantly engaged with you in discussions conducive to concord and amity, so far as I am able, and trying in every way to eradicate unreasonable and foolish enmity and strife and contention? For truly it is a fine thing and profitable for one and all alike to have a city show itself of one mind, on terms of friendship with itself and one

[1] Does he mean Trajan? If so, we can the better understand the reference to the Getae in the next sentence, for they were at this time making trouble for Trajan, and we know of no reason why Prusa should have been especially hostile toward the Getae. The "reconciliation" presumably concerned Prusa's dealings with her neighbours.

καὶ συμπαθῆ,[1] ψόγον τε καὶ ἔπαινον ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ φέροντας, τοῖς τε ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τοῖς φαύλοις πιστὴν
7 ἑκατέροις μαρτυρίαν. καλὸν γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐν χορῷ τεταγμένῳ, συνᾴδειν ἓν καὶ ταὐτὸ μέλος, ἀλλὰ μὴ πονηροῦ τρόπον ὀργάνου διαφέρεσθαι διπλοῦς φθόγγους τε καὶ ἤχους ἀποφαίνοντας[2] ἀπὸ διπλῶν καὶ ποικίλων ἠθῶν,[3] ἐν ᾧ σχεδὸν ἥ τε καταφρόνησις καὶ δυστυχία καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἰσχύειν μήτε παρ' ἑαυτοῖς μήτε παρὰ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν.[4] οὔτε γὰρ τῶν ἀσυμφώνων χορῶν οὐδεὶς ἀκούει ῥᾳδίως ὅ τι λέγουσιν οὔτε τῶν διαφερομένων πόλεων. ὥσπερ γὰρ[5] ἐν μιᾷ νηὶ πλέοντας οὐ δυνατόν, οἶμαι, χωρὶς ἕκαστον σωτηρίας τυγχάνειν, ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντας, οὕτως οὐδὲ
8 τοὺς συμπολιτευομένους. πρέπει δὲ ὑμῖν παιδείᾳ διαφέροντας καὶ φύσει καὶ τῷ ὄντι καθαρῶς ὄντας Ἕλληνας ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὴν γενναιότητα ἐπιδεικνύναι.

Πολλὰ δ' ἄν, οἶμαι, περὶ τούτων ἔλεγον καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποθέσεως, εἰ μὴ τό τε σῶμα κομιδῇ φαύλως εἶχον, ὑμᾶς τε, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἑώρων οὐ[6] διαμένοντας.[7] οὐδὲ γὰρ γέγονεν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ[8] φύεται παρ' ὑμῖν τοῦτο τὸ νόσημα, ἀλλὰ ἴσως βραχεῖά τις ὑποψία, ἧς[9] καθάπερ ὀφθαλμίας παρὰ

[1] After συμπαθῆ Emperius deletes κάλλιστον θεαμάτων εὐδαιμονέστατον δὲ ἁπάντων κτημάτων μία γνώμη περὶ πάντων φαινομένη, a manifest gloss. Arnim suspects also πόλιν ὁμογνώμονα . . . συμπαθῆ.

[2] ἀποφαίνοντας Reiske : ἀποφαίνοντος.

[3] ἠθῶν Selden : ἤχων. In the MSS. there follows : τρόπον αὐλοῦ κατεαγότος διπλᾶς φωνάς, which Reiske deletes.

[4] μήτε παρ' ἑαυτοῖς μήτε παρὰ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Emperius : μήτε παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἡγεμόσιν M, μήτε παρὰ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν UB.

[5] After γὰρ Arnim adds τούς.

[6] ἑώρων οὐ Capps : οὐχ ἑώρων.

in feeling, united in conferring both censure and praise, bearing for both classes, the good and the bad, a testimony in which each can have confidence. Yes, it is a fine thing, just as it is with a well-trained chorus, for men to sing together one and the same tune, and not, like a bad musical instrument, to be discordant, emitting two kinds of notes and sounds as a result of twofold and varied natures,[1] for in such discord, I venture to say, there is found not only contempt and misfortune but also utter impotence both among themselves and in their dealings with the proconsuls. For no one can readily hear what is being said either when choruses are discordant or when cities are at variance.[2] Again, just as it is not possible, I fancy, for persons sailing in one ship each to obtain safety separately, but rather all together, so it is also with men who are members of one state. And it becomes you, since you excel in cultivation and in natural gifts and are in fact pure Hellenes, to display your nobility in this very thing.[3]

I might go on to say a great deal on these topics, I believe, and things commensurate with the importance of the subject before us, were it not that I am in quite poor health,[4] and also, as I was saying,[5] if I did not observe that your condition is not permanent. For no incident has yet happened, nor does this malady[6] thrive among you, but it is possibly a slight attack of distrust, which, like sore eyes, we have

[1] Cf. Or. 32. 2.
[2] Cf. Or. 39. 4.
[3] I.e., concord.
[4] Cf. Or. 39. 7 and 40. 2.
[5] In § 5.
[6] I.e., discord.

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[7] διαμένοντας] διενεχθέντας Arnim.
[8] οὐδὲ Emperius : οὔτε.
[9] ἧς added by Casaubon.

τῶν ἐγγὺς ἀπελαύσαμεν. εἴωθε δὲ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν καὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ πολλάκις· τοῦ βυθοῦ κλυσθέντος[1] ἰσχυρῶς καὶ χειμῶνος ἔξω γενομένου πολλάκις ἀδήλως ἐπεσήμηνε καὶ τοῖς λιμέσιν.

9 Οἴεσθε ἀγορᾶς καὶ θεάτρου καὶ γυμνασίων καὶ στοῶν καὶ χρημάτων εἶναί τι ὄφελος τοῖς στασιάζουσιν; οὐ ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ ποιοῦντα πόλιν καλήν, ἀλλὰ σωφροσύνη, φιλία, τὸ πιστεύειν ἀλλήλοις. ὅταν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ψέγητε, τοὺς προεστῶτας, τοὺς ἐξειλεγμένους, οὐχ αὑτοὺς ψέγετε; εἰ γὰρ οἱ βελτίους ὑμῶν εἰσι πονηροί, τί δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπολαβεῖν; "ἡμεῖς ἄρα τὰ αὑτῶν[2] ἀπολέσωμεν;" οὐθείς φησιν· ἀλλ' εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσίν ἐστι χρήματα δημόσια, καὶ ταῦτα ἔχουσιν ἔνιοι, τινὲς μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν, τινὲς δὲ ἄλλως· καὶ δεῖ προνοεῖν καὶ σῴζειν, οὐ μέντοι μετὰ ἔχθρας οὐδὲ μετὰ διαφορᾶς.

10 Οὗτοι φιλοτιμοῦνται, πολλάκις ὑμῖν παρ' αὑτῶν[3] εἰσενηνόχασιν. πείθετε αὐτούς, παρακαλεῖτε· ἂν ἀντιτείνωσι, δικαιολογεῖσθε πρὸς μόνους μηθενὸς παρόντος ἔξωθεν. οὐχ ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ πολλάκις ἐπαινοῦντες ἡμᾶς δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας, τοὺς μὲν ἀριστεῖς λέγοντες, τοὺς δὲ Ὀλυμπίους, τοὺς δὲ σωτῆρας, τοὺς δὲ τροφέας; εἶτα πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ψευδομαρτυριῶν ἁλώσεσθε, καὶ[4]

1 κλυσθέντος Reiske: πλησθέντος.
2 αὑτῶν Emperius: αὐτῶν.
3 αὑτῶν Emperius: αὐτῶν.
4 After καὶ Arnim adds ἄδηλον ἔσται.

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1 See Introduction.
2 Dio is probably referring to the groups mentioned in the preceding section, wealthier persons likely to be found in office.

caught from our neighbours. But this is a thing which often befalls the sea too—when the depths have been violently disturbed and there has been a storm at sea, often there are faint signs of the disturbance in the harbours also.[1]

Do you imagine there is any advantage in market or theatre or gymnasia or colonnades or wealth for men who are at variance? These are not the things which make a city beautiful, but rather self-control, friendship, mutual trust. But when you find fault with the Council, with the leaders of the government, with the duly elected officials, are you not finding fault with yourselves? For if the better men among you are base, what should one assume regarding the others? "Shall we, then, lose what belongs to us?" some one retorts. No one is suggesting that: on the contrary, you may rest assured that in all our cities there are public funds, and a few persons have these funds in their possession, some through ignorance and some otherwise: and it is necessary to take precautions and try to recover these funds, yet not with hatred or wrangling.

These men [2] are generous: they have often made contributions to you out of their own resources. Use persuasion on them, appeal to them; if they are stubborn, urge the justice of your claims before them privately, with no outsider present.[3] Is it not you who often praise us all day long, calling some of us nobles, some Olympians, some saviours, some foster-parents? Then, by all that's holy, are you going to be convicted of false witness in your own household,

[3] Doubtless he has Varenus particularly in mind: it would be unfortunate to lay bare domestic difficulties unnecessarily.

πότερον νῦν ταῦτα ὀργιζόμενοι λέγετε ἢ τότε ἐκεῖνα κολακεύοντες, καὶ νῦν ἀπατώμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τότε ἐξαπατῶντες; οὐ παύσεσθε τῆς ταραχῆς καὶ γνώσεσθε ὅτι πάνυ χαρίεντας ἔχετε πολίτας καὶ πόλιν δυναμένην εἶναι μακαρίαν; ἐγὼ[1] πολλὰ δύναμαι σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀγαθὰ ποιῆσαι, τούτους ἔχων συναγωνιζομένους, λέγω δὲ[2] τὸ τῆς παροιμίας, εἷς ἀνὴρ οὐδεὶς ἀνήρ.[1]

11 Ἀλλ' ἴσως ἐδυσχεράνατε ὅτι οὐκ ἐγένετο τὸ ἔργον. γίγνεται καὶ σφόδρα ἔσται ταχέως, μάλιστα τούτων προθυμουμένων καὶ σπουδαζόντων, ἐὰν ἑκοντὶ διδῶσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄκοντες ὑμῖν ὑπέσχοντο. διὰ τί δὲ παρὰ τούτων μὲν ἀπαιτεῖτε παρ' ἐμοῦ δὲ οὐκ ἀπαιτεῖτε; ὅτι δοκῶ παρεσχηκέναι ὑμῖν; ἔπειτα οἴεσθ' ἐμὲ[3] τοῦτο ἐμποιεῖν εἰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πατρίδα τιμιωτέραν ἐποίησα, χρημάτων τινὰ ἀφορμὴν παρασχὼν ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν βουλευτικῶν[2] καὶ νὴ Δία ἀπὸ τῶν προσόδων ηὐξημένων διὰ τὴν διοίκησιν;[3] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅμοιά ἐστιν ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ηὐξάμην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, οἱ θεοὶ δὲ ἐποίησαν.

12 Κἂν πάλιν δυνηθῶ, ποιήσω πάλιν. δυνήσομαι δὲ εὐθυμῶν,[4] φίλους ἔχων τοὺς ἐνθάδε, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑμῖν λογιοῦμαι τῶν τοιούτων. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ γονεῖς τοῖς τέκνοις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων τὰς εὐχὰς λογί-

[1] Before ἐγὼ Reiske inserts ἦν.
[2] λέγω δὲ Selden : λέγων.
[3] οἴεσθ' ἐμὲ Crosby : οἴεσθέ με.
[4] εὐθυμῶν] μεθ' ὑμῶν Reiske.

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[1] A familiar proverb.
[2] The Councillor paid a fee when admitted to office.
[3] This was another result of Dio's mission to Rome, A.D. 100. Cf. Or. 45. 10. It would seem that because of the

and is it anger which now prompts your words, or was it flattery then; and is it that you are the victims of deception now, or were you guilty of deception then? Will you not cease your turbulence and recognize that you have fellow citizens of refinement and a city that can be prosperous? I can accomplish many things, if Heaven wills, with these men as my helpers; however, I cite the proverb, one man is no man.[1]

But possibly you were displeased that the work has not been completed. It is going forward, and it will be completed very speedily, especially with the enthusiastic and earnest interest of these men, provided they give willingly; for you know they were not unwilling when they gave their promise. But why do you demand payment from these men and not from me? Because I am supposed to have made payment to you already? Then do you regard it as *my* doing, if I have made my own fatherland more highly esteemed by providing some working capital, as it were, from the Council fees,[2] and, by Zeus, from increase in income brought about through the revision of our finances?[3] Why, these matters are as if I had prayed in your behalf, while the gods did the work.

Aye, and if I am able to do it again I will do it again.[4] And I shall be able to do so with confidence, provided I have the friendship of the people of Prusa, and I shall not charge you anything for such efforts. For neither do parents charge to the account of their children the prayers offered in their behalf. Do you

success of that mission his fellow citizens were not pressing him for the payment of his subscription, but were honouring him with a vote of thanks. Cf. § 3.

[4] I.e., he will "pray" again to the Emperor.

ζονται. οἴεσθε ὅτι περὶ στοᾶς ἦν ἂν ἐμοὶ λόγος ἢ ἄλλου τινός, εἰ ἑώρων ὑμᾶς διαφερομένους; ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε ὅμοιον ἦν ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἄνθρωπον νοσοῦντα καὶ φρενίτιδι ἐχόμενον, δέον, οἶμαι, καταπλάσαι κατακλίναντα, ὁ δὲ ἀλείφοι μύρῳ καὶ προσφέροι στέφανον· ταῦτα[1] ἐκ περιουσίας ἐστὶ τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσι, τοῖς μηδὲν ἔχουσι κακόν. οὐκ οἴεσθε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὅτ' ἐστασίαζον καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπηγάγοντο[2] καὶ προεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλους οἱ ταλαίπωροι, καὶ τὰ Προπύλαια ἔχειν καὶ τὸν Παρθενῶνα καὶ τὰς στοὰς καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ; ἀλλὰ οἰμώζουσιν αὐτοῖς μεῖζον ἐπήχει τὰ Προπύλαια καὶ τὰ νεώρια καὶ ὁ Πειραιεὺς αὐτός.

13 Καίτοι μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος πόλις στασιάζουσα καὶ κακῶς φρονοῦσα δύναται χρόνον τινὰ ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν δυστυχίαν· ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ ταῦτα ὁρᾶτε ὁποῖά ἐστιν. οὐ κατηγοροῦσιν ἀλλήλων, οὐκ ἐξελαύνουσιν, οὐ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν εἰσάγουσιν καὶ ἑτέρους ἐξάγουσιν; οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν σεισμῷ πάντα κινεῖται καὶ πάντα μετέωρά ἐστι καὶ οὐθὲν βέβαιον; εἰς[3] τοῦτο ἥκουσιν ὥστε μὴ ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς αὐτῶν ἡγεμόσιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀνιάτοις νοσήμασι, δέονται ξένων ἰατρῶν. καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῶν χαλεπῶν ἵππων γιγνόμενόν ἐστιν· ὅταν ὁ χαλινὸς μὴ κατισχύῃ, ψάλιον[4] αὐτοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐμβάλλεται.

[1] After ταῦτα Emperius adds ἃ.
[2] ἐπηγάγοντο] ἐπήγοντο Wilamowitz.
[3] Before εἰς Casaubon inserts οὐκ.
[4] ψάλιον Valesius : ψέλιον.

imagine I should be speaking of a colonnade or anything else, if I saw you wrangling? Why, that would be just as if, when a man is ill and suffering from brain fever, though the proper treatment, no doubt, would be to put him to bed and apply a poultice, one were to rub him with perfume and administer a garland! These things are a luxury for the well, for those who have no affliction. Do not you suppose that at the time when the Athenians were in the grip of civil war and had brought upon themselves the enemy and were betraying one another—poor devils!—they had both the Propylaea and the Parthenon and the colonnades and Peiraeus? Aye, but the Propylaea and the dockyards and the Peiraeus itself only echoed the more loudly to their cries.

And yet a great and populous city suffering from civil war and folly can for a time endure its misfortune; still you can see how terrible even such things are. Do not the Athenians accuse one another, do they not drive men into exile, do they not put one party into the Council and drive out the other? Is not everything subject to upheaval as in an earthquake, everything unsettled, nothing stable? They have reached the point of not being satisfied with their own leaders, but, just as in the case of incurable diseases, require physicians from abroad. Then comes what happens with intractable horses—when the bit fails to hold them in check, a curb is put upon them from without.[1]

[1] This whole passage relates to the unhappy situation of Athens at the close of the Peloponnesian War. The "physician from abroad" was the Spartan Lysander and the "curb" was his troops of occupation. Dio's choice of such an illustration and his earnestness in depicting Athenian sufferings suggest that conditions at Prusa were pretty bad.

14 Ἐμοὶ[1] μέλει μὲν καὶ τοῦ καθ' ὑμᾶς, μέλει δὲ καὶ τοῦ κατ' ἐμαυτόν. εἰ γὰρ φιλόσοφος πολιτείας ἁψάμενος οὐκ ἐδυνήθη παρέχειν ὁμονοοῦσαν πόλιν, τοῦτο δεινὸν ἤδη καὶ ἄφυκτον, ὥσπερ εἰ ναυπηγὸς[2] ἐν νηὶ πλέων[3] μὴ παρέχοι τὴν ναῦν πλέουσαν, καὶ εἰ κυβερνήτης φάσκων εἶναι πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ κῦμα ἀποκλίνοι, ἢ λαβὼν οἰκίαν οἰκοδόμος, ὁρῶν πίπτουσαν, ὁ δὲ τούτου μὲν ἀμελῶν,[4] κονιῶν δὲ καὶ χρίων οἴοιτό τι ποιεῖν.

Εἴ μοι προέκειτο νῦν ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας λέγειν, εἶπον ἂν πολλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων παθημάτων, ὅτι τὰ θεῖα ταῦτα καὶ μεγάλα ὁμονοίας τυγχάνει δεόμενα καὶ φιλίας· εἰ δὲ μή, κίνδυνος ἀπολέσθαι καὶ φθαρῆναι τῷ καλῷ τούτῳ
15 δημιουργήματι τῷ κόσμῳ. ἀλλ' ἴσως μακρολογῶ, δέον βαδίζειν καὶ παρακαλεῖν τὸν ἡγεμόνα. τοσοῦτον δὴ μόνον ἐρῶ· οὐκ αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, εἰ μέλιτται μὲν ὁμονοοῦσι, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε ἑώρακεν ἑσμὸν στασιάζοντα καὶ μαχόμενον αὑτῷ· συνεργάζονται δὲ καὶ ζῶσιν ἅμα, καὶ παρέχουσαι τὴν τροφὴν αὑταῖς καὶ χρώμεναι; τί οὖν; οὐχὶ κἀκεῖ γίγνονται κηφῆνές τινες λεγόμενοι χαλεποὶ καὶ κατεσθίοντες τὸ μέλι; νὴ Δία, γίγνονται μέν· ὅμως δὲ καὶ τούτους πολλάκις ἐῶσιν οἱ γεωργοί, μὴ βουλόμενοι ταράττειν τὸν ἑσμόν, καὶ βέλτιον νομίζουσι παραναλίσκειν τοῦ μέλιτος ἢ πάσας θορυβῆ-

[1] ἐμοὶ] καὶ ἐμοὶ Emperius, ἐμοὶ δὲ Arnim.
[2] ναυπηγὸς] ναύκληρος Sonny.
[3] ἐν νηὶ πλέων wrongly suspected by Herwerden.
[4] ἀμελῶν] ἀμελοῖ Arnim.

THE FORTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE

My concern is partly indeed for you, but partly also for myself. For if, when a philosopher has taken a government in hand, he proves unable to produce a united city, this is indeed a shocking state of affairs, one admitting no escape, just as if a shipwright while sailing in a ship should fail to render the ship seaworthy, or as if a man who claimed to be a pilot should swerve toward the wave itself, or as if a builder should obtain a house and, seeing that it was falling to decay, should disregard this fact but, giving it a coat of stucco and a wash of colour, should imagine that he is achieving something.

If my purpose on this occasion were to speak in behalf of concord, I should have had a good deal to say about not only human experiences but celestial also, to the effect that these divine and grand creations, as it happens, require concord and friendship; otherwise there is danger of ruin and destruction for this beautiful work of the creator, the universe.[1] But perhaps I am talking too long, when I should instead go and call the proconsul to our meeting. Accordingly I shall say only this much more—is it not disgraceful that bees are of one mind and no one has ever seen a swarm that is factious and fights against itself, but, on the contrary, they both work and live together, providing food for one another and using it as well? "What!" some one objects, "do we not find there too bees that are called drones, annoying creatures which devour the honey?" Yes, by Heaven, we do indeed; but still the farmers often tolerate even them, not wishing to disturb the hive, and believe it better to waste some of the honey rather than to

[1] A favourite theme with Dio. Cf. Or. 36. 22, 30, and the "myth of the Magi" with which he concludes.

16 σαι τὰς μελίττας. οὐ μέντοι παρ' ἡμῖν τυχὸν οὐδείς ἐστι κηφὴν ἀργός,[1] βομβῶν σαθρόν, γευόμενος τοῦ μέλιτος. καὶ μέντοι καὶ μύρμηκας πανὺ ἡδέως ἰδεῖν ἔστιν, ὅπως μὲν οἰκοῦσι μετ' ἀλλήλων εὐκόλως, ὅπως δὲ ἐξίασιν, ὅπως δὲ τὰ βάρη μεταλαμβάνουσιν, ὅπως δὲ παραχωροῦσιν ἀλλήλοις τῶν ὁδῶν. οὔκουν αἰσχρὸν ἀνθρώπους ὄντας ἀφρονεστέρους εἶναι θηρίων οὕτω σμικρῶν καὶ ἀφρόνων;

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἄλλως ἐρρήθη τρόπον τινά. στάσιν δὲ οὐδὲ[2] ὀνομάζειν ἄξιον παρ' ἡμῖν μήτε
17 λεγέτω μηδείς. ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖ περικαθήραντας τὴν πόλιν—μὴ σκίλλῃ μηδὲ ὕδατι,[3] πολὺ δὲ καθαρωτέρῳ χρήματι τῷ λόγῳ—κοινῇ πράττειν τὰ λοιπά, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγορανόμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φροντίζειν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν παρακαλεῖν πρὸς ταῦτα, ἵνα, ὥσπερ εἴωθε,[4] προνοῇ τῆς πόλεως· ἔσται γὰρ ὑμῖν πάνυ ῥᾴδια. τοῦτο δὲ ἄξιον ὑμῖν σπουδάσαι καὶ διὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα ὃν πεποιήκατε, ἵνα μὴ λαβόντες ἄπειρον ἄνθρωπον ἔπειτα ἐν κλύδωνι καὶ σάλῳ ἐᾶτε.

[1] *ἀργός* Jacobs : *ἄγριος*. [2] *οὐδὲ*] *οὔτε* Emperius.
[3] *ὕδατι*] *δᾳδί* Baguet, *χρίματι* Naber.
[4] *εἴωθε* Emperius : *εἰώθει*.

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[1] Dio often uses bees and ants as illustrations; e.g., Or. 40. 40.

[2] Athens employed such officials as early as 425 B.C. Cf. Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 723-724. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 51. 1, says there were five for Athens proper and five for the Peiraeus, and that it was their duty to inspect all goods for

throw all the bees into confusion. But at Prusa, it may be, there are no lazy drones, buzzing in impotence, sipping the honey, Again, it is a great delight to observe the ants, how contentedly they dwell together, how they go forth from the nest, how they aid one another with their loads, and how they yield the trails to one another. Is it not disgraceful, then, as I was saying, that human beings should be more unintelligent than wild creatures which are so tiny and unintelligent ? [1]

Now this which I have been saying is in a way just idle talk. And civil strife does not deserve even to be named among us, and let no man mention it. However, I propose that after purifying the city—not with squill nor yet with water, but with what is far more pure, namely, reason—we negotiate in public meeting what yet remains, not only concerning ourselves with our clerks of the market [2] and so forth, but also calling the attention of the Council to these matters, so that it may make provision for the city, as is its practice ; for these things will be quite easy for you to do. Besides, this deserves your serious attention also on account of the archon whom you have created, in order that, having taken a man of inexperience, you may not later abandon him in wave and tempest.[3]

sale in order to insure cleanliness and freedom from adulteration.

[3] Arnim suggests with much plausibility that Dio is here referring to his son, now grown to manhood. That the son followed family tradition by holding public office is apparent from Or. 50. 5-6, 10, and 51. 6.

THE FORTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: A REFUSAL OF THE OFFICE OF ARCHON DELIVERED BEFORE THE COUNCIL

The major portion of this Discourse is devoted to a consideration of the importance of the philosopher in the administration of affairs of state and of his duty to accept office for the good of the state. It appears that Dio, without his previous consent, had been set up as a candidate for election to the archonship, the highest office in the government. That election to this office was a function of the Council is clear, not only from the fact that Dio's excuses are offered to that body, but especially from the natural interpetation of §§ 14-15. Furthermore, we learn from § 15 that the Council had once before elected him to that office by acclamation. Arnim argues with much cleverness that the election just referred to took place the year preceding our Discourse, A.D. 102, that Dio declined to serve on that occasion, and that he used his influence to bring about the substitution of his son to fill his place (cf. Or. 48. 17 and note). On the occasion referred to Dio, in support of his request to be excused, urged the imminence of his departure from Prusa. Not yet having made good that announcement, he now feels called upon to assert his good faith and to declare that this time he is really about to leave (§ 15).

For what reason was he to take his departure? In the initial sentence of Or. 45 (A.D. 101 or 102) he says he believes he has not much longer to stay in Prusa. One infers from his use of the verb *οἴομαι* that his departure is not wholly a matter of personal choice. In that same speech (§ 3) and in Or. 47 he suggests that he might reasonably look to Trajan

for some preferment. Arnim concludes that some such offer of preferment had been made prior to Or. 45 and that Dio's earlier uncertainty as to the precise moment of his departure was due to the Emperor's absence from Rome in connexion with his campaign in Dacia. That campaign is now over and Dio is due to begin his journey to Rome.

49. ΠΑΡΑΙΤΗΣΙΣ ΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΝ ΒΟΥΛΗΙ

1 Τοῖς ἐπιεικέσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ πεπαιδευμένοις οὔτε ἀηδὲς τὸ ἄρχειν οὔτε χαλεπόν. ἥδονται μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ εὖ ποιεῖν· τῷ δὲ ἄρχοντι πόλεως ἢ ἔθνους ἢ καὶ πλειόνων ἀνθρώπων οὐ μόνον ἐξουσία πλείστη τοῦ εὐεργετεῖν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάγκη σχεδόν· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἀνέχονται τὸν βλαβερὸν ἄρχοντα οὐχ ὅπως ἄνθρωποι, ὃ δὴ δοκεῖ πάντων δριμύτατον εἶναι,[1] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν θηρίων
2 τὰ ἀφρονέστατα. οὔτε γὰρ βόες ῥᾳδίως ὑπομένουσι βουκόλων ἀμέλειαν οὔτε αἰπόλια καὶ ποῖμναι τοὺς φθείροντας νομέας. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀποφεύγει καὶ οὐ πείθεται, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀμύνεται τοὺς πονηροὺς προστάτας. οἱ δ' ἵπποι τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς ἡνιόχους ἀποβάλλοντες πολὺ κάκιον κολάζουσιν ἢ ἐκεῖνοι[2] τῇ μάστιγι παίοντες. τούτων δὲ ἁπάντων ἄνθρωπος δεινότατόν ἐστι καὶ πλείστην ἔχον[3] σύνεσιν· ὥστε κακῷ μὲν ἡγεμόνι πάντων ἐχθρότατον, τῷ δὲ ἀγαθῷ πάντων εὐνούστατον.[4] ἡδὺ μὲν οὕτως τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις τὸ ἄρχειν· χαλεπὸν δὲ οὐκ ἂν

[1] ὃ δὴ . . . εἶναι deleted by Emperius.
[2] After ἐκεῖνοι Herwerden adds τούτους.
[3] ἔχον Reiske : ἔχων.
[4] εὐνούστατον Reiske : εὐνούστερον.

THE FORTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: A REFUSAL OF THE OFFICE OF ARCHON DELIVERED BEFORE THE COUNCIL

To reasonable and cultivated men the holding of office is neither distasteful nor difficult. For they enjoy nothing more than doing good: and the ruler of a city, or of a tribe, or of still larger aggregations of mankind, not only has the fullest opportunity for doing good, but also is practically bound to do so; but if he fails in that respect, the ruler who does harm is not tolerated, I do not say by human beings, reputed to be the most petulant of all creatures, but not even by the stupidest of the beasts. For example, neither do cattle willingly submit to neglect on the part of the herdsmen nor do flocks of goats and sheep submit to keepers who ruin them. For some run away and do not obey, and others even retaliate against their wicked guardians. In fact horses inflict much worse punishment on ignorant drivers by throwing them off than the drivers inflict by striking them with the whip. But of all these creatures man is the most clever and has the most intelligence; accordingly man is most hostile of all toward a bad ruler, though most kindly of all toward one who is good. Thus being a ruler is pleasant for those who know the art—though no pursuit could be difficult

εἴη πρᾶγμα οὐδὲν τῷ μελετήσαντι ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ παρεσκευασμένῳ πρὸς αὐτό.

3 Ὁ δὲ τῷ ὄντι φιλόσοφος οὐκ ἄλλο τι φανήσεται διαπονούμενος[1] ἢ τὸ πῶς[2] ἄρχειν καλῶς δυνήσεται καὶ αὑτοῦ καὶ οἰκίας καὶ πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης καὶ συλλήβδην ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἂν ἐπιτρέπωσι, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ προσδεήσεται οὐδενὸς ἄρχοντος ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ λόγου καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ φροντίζειν ἱκανὸς ἔσται. καὶ τοῦτο οὐδὲ τοὺς βασιλέας αὐτοὺς λέληθεν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις ὅσοι μὴ τελέως ἄφρονες. τῶν γὰρ πεπαιδευμένων ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις δέονται συμβούλους σφίσι γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προστάττοντες αὐτοὶ παρ' ἐκείνων προστάγματα λαμβάνουσιν ἃ δεῖ πράττειν καὶ τίνων ἀπέχεσθαι.

4 Ὥσπερ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα Ὅμηρός φησιν ἀεὶ[3] προσδεῖσθαι τῆς γνώμης τοῦ Νέστορος καὶ ὁσάκις αὐτῷ συμβουλεύοντι μὴ ἐπείσθη, ὀδύρεσθαι καὶ παραχρῆμα μετανοεῖν. Φίλιππος δέ, ὃς δοκεῖ δεινότατος γενέσθαι τῶν βασιλέων, Ἀριστοτέλην ἐπηγάγετο τῷ υἱεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διδάσκαλον καὶ ἄρχοντα, ὡς αὐτὸς οὐχ ἱκανὸς ὢν παιδεῦσαι τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐπιστήμην· ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων καὶ Θρᾳκῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἁπάντων ἠξίου ἄρχειν, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ἑτέρῳ παρεδίδου ἀρχθησόμενον,[4] καὶ τοσαύταις μυριάσι προστάττων

[1] διαπονούμενος Reiske, διανοούμενος Casaubon: διακονούμενος.

[2] τὸ πῶς] ὅπως Arnim.

[3] ἀεὶ Selden: ἃ δεῖ.

[4] ἀρχθησόμενον Reiske: ἀχθησόμενον.

for the man who had practised it from the start and had equipped himself for it.

But he who is really a philosopher will be found to be devoting himself to no other task than that of learning how he will be able to rule well, whether it be ruling himself or a household or the greatest state or, in short, all mankind, provided they permit it, and, while himself needing no ruler other than reason and God, he will be competent to care for and give heed to the rest of mankind. Moreover, this fact has not escaped the notice even of kings themselves, or of any men in power who are not utterly bereft of judgement. For they entreat men of cultivation to become their counsellors in their most important problems, and, while giving orders to everybody else, they themselves accept orders from those counsellors as to what to do and what not to do.

Take Agamemnon for example—Homer says that Agamemnon always sought the opinion of Nestor especially, and that every time he did not follow Nestor's advice he bewailed the fact and promptly repented.[1] Again, Philip, who is reputed to have been the cleverest of kings, engaged Aristotle as teacher and ruler for his son Alexander, believing that he himself was not competent to give instruction in the science of kingship; nay, while he thought himself fit to rule the other Macedonians and Thracians and Illyrians and all the Greeks, he handed his son over to another to be ruled, and while he gave orders to so many myriads, he did not dare give orders to

[1] Dio refers, not to a statement made by Homer, but to the prominence which he gives Nestor as Agamemnon's counsellor.

ἑνὶ ἐκείνῳ προστάττειν οὐχ ὑπέμενεν. οὐ γὰρ ἴσον ἡγεῖτο κίνδυνον εἶναι αὐτῷ[1] εἰ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξαμαρτάνοι ἢ εἴ τι περὶ τὸν υἱόν.

5 Καίτοι πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐν Θήβαις ὁμηρεύων Πελοπίδᾳ τε συνῆν, ἀνδρὶ πεπαιδευμένῳ, ὥστε καὶ ἐραστὴν ἔφασαν αὐτοῦ τὸν Πελοπίδαν γενέσθαι, καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδου τά τε ἔργα ἑώρα καὶ τῶν λόγων δὲ ἤκουεν,[2] ὃς οὐκ ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἐποίησεν, ὥστε καταλῦσαι Λακεδαιμονίους τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἄρχοντας, ἀλλὰ Λύσιδι ὁμιλήσας τῷ Πυθαγόρου μαθητῇ. ὅθεν οἶμαι πολὺ διήνεγκεν ὁ Φίλιππος τῶν πρότερον ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλευσάντων. ἀλλ' ὅμως τοιαύτης παιδείας ἐπιτυχὼν οὐκ ἐθάρρει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς[3] διδάσκειν.

6 Εὕροι δ' ἄν τις σπανίως μὲν φιλοσόφους ἄρξαντας ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις—λέγω δὲ τὰς ὠνομασμένας ἀρχάς, στρατηγοὺς ἢ σατράπας ἢ βασιλέας καθισταμένους—πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ μέγιστα ἀπολαύσαντας αὐτῶν ἀγαθὰ τοὺς ἀρχομένους· Σόλωνος μὲν Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀριστείδου καὶ Περικλέους τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου μαθητοῦ, Θηβαίους δὲ Ἐπαμεινώνδου, Ῥωμαίους δὲ Νόμα, ὅν φασί τινες τῆς Πυθαγόρου σοφίας μετασχεῖν· Ἰταλιώτας δὲ σύμπαντας τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν, τοσοῦτον χρόνον εὐδαιμονήσαν-

1 αὐτῷ Emperius : αὐτῷ.
2 ἤκουεν Emperius : ἤκουσεν.
3 αὐτὸς Reiske : οὗτος or οὕτως.

1 At the battle of Leuctra, 371 B.C.
2 Lysis, a native of Tarentum, migrated to Thebes when the Pythagorean community was dissolved. For his influence on Epaminondas, see Nepos, *Epam.* 2.

that one man. The reason is that he did not feel his own risk to be as great if he should err where it concerned any one else as it would be if he should commit some error in connexion with his son.

And yet previously Philip himself, while a hostage at Thebes, not only was associated with Pelopidas, a man of cultivation—in consequence of which it was even said that Pelopidas had been his lover—but he also witnessed the deeds of Epaminondas and listened to his words; and it was not mere accident that Epaminondas had acquired such power among the Greeks and had wrought so great a change in Greece as to overthrow the Spartans,[1] despite their long-continued rule, but because he had conversed with Lysis,[2] the disciple of Pythagoras. This, I fancy, explains why Philip was far superior to those who previously had become kings in Macedonia. Yet for all that, though he had had the good fortune to obtain so good an education, he did not have the courage to instruct Alexander himself.

However, while one would find that philosophers have rarely become rulers among men—I mean holding positions termed "offices," serving as generals or satraps or kings—on the other hand, those whom they ruled have derived from them most numerous and most important benefits—the Athenians from Solon, from Aristeides, and from Pericles, the disciple of Anaxagoras; the Thebans from Epaminondas; the Romans from Numa, who, as some say, had some acquaintance with the philosophy of Pythagoras[3]; and the Italian Greeks in general from the Pythagoreans, for these Greeks prospered and conducted

[3] The traditional date of Numa makes him too early to have known Pythagoreanism.

τας καὶ μετὰ πλείστης ὁμονοίας καὶ εἰρήνης πολιτευσαμένους, ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι χρόνον τὰς πόλεις διεῖπον.

7 Καὶ κοινῇ δὲ τὰ ἰσχυρότατα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ δύνανται ἀεὶ βασιλεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων, ἐπιστάτας τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ ἄρχοντας τούτους ἀπέδειξαν· Πέρσαι μέν, οἶμαι, τοὺς καλουμένους παρ' αὐτοῖς μάγους, ὅτι[1] τῆς φύσεως ἦσαν ἔμπειροι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ᾔδεσαν ὡς δεῖ θεραπεύειν· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τοὺς ἱερέας, οἳ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιστήμην εἶχον τοῖς μάγοις, τῶν θεῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι καὶ τὰ ξύμπαντα γιγνώσκοντες ὅπῃ[2] τε καὶ ὅπως ἔχοι· Ἰνδοὶ δὲ Βραχμᾶνας, ἐγκρατείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διαφέροντας καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον φιλίᾳ, ὅθεν μᾶλλον ἴσασι τὰ μέλλοντα ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι τὰ παρόντα αὐτοῖς·
8 Κελτοὶ δὲ οὓς ὀνομάζουσι Δρυΐδας, καὶ τούτους περὶ μαντικὴν ὄντας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σοφίαν· ὧν ἄνευ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὐδὲν ἐξῆν πράττειν οὐδὲ βουλεύεσθαι, ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς ἐκείνους ἄρχειν, τοὺς δὲ βασιλέας αὐτῶν ὑπηρέτας καὶ διακόνους γίγνεσθαι τῆς γνώμης ἐν θρόνοις χρυσοῖς καθημένους καὶ οἰκίας μεγάλας οἰκοῦντας καὶ πολυτελῶς[3] εὐωχουμένους.

Καὶ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον εἰκός ἐστι πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ἱκανώτατα διοικῆσαι, ὃς τὴν χαλεπωτάτην ἀρχὴν διηνεκῶς[4] ἄρχων δύναται παρέχειν ἀναμάρτητον
9 αὑτόν. ὁ τοίνυν φιλόσοφος ἀεὶ αὑτοῦ ἄρχει· ὃ τῷ

[1] ὅτι] οἳ Reiske. [2] ὅπῃ Dindorf: πῇ.
[3] πολυτελῶς Cobet: πολυτίμους or πολυτίμως.
[4] διηνεκῶς Selden: διενηνοχὼς.

[1] Cf. Or. 36. 41. [2] Cf. Or. 35. 22.
[3] The *locus classicus* on the Druids is Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* 6.

their municipal affairs with the greatest concord and peace just so long as those Pythagoreans managed their cities.

Furthermore, since they cannot always be ruled by kings who are philosophers, the most powerful nations have publicly appointed philosophers as superintendents and officers for their kings. Thus the Persians, methinks, appointed those whom they call Magi, because they were acquainted with Nature and understood how the gods should be worshipped[1]: the Egyptians appointed the priests, who had the same knowledge as the Magi, devoting themselves to the service of the gods and knowing the how and the wherefore of everything; the Indians appointed Brachmans, because they excel in self-control and righteousness and in their devotion to the divine,[2] as a result of which they know the future better than all other men know their own immediate present; the Celts appointed those whom they call Druids,[3] these also being devoted to the prophetic art and to wisdom in general. In all these cases the kings were not permitted to do or plan anything without the assistance of these wise men, so that in truth it was they who ruled, while the kings became their servants and the ministers of their will, though they sat on golden thrones, dwelt in great houses, and feasted sumptuously.

And indeed it is reasonable to expect that man to administer any office most capably who, occupying continuously the most difficult office of all, can show himself to be free from error. For example, the philosopher is always master of himself: and this is

13-14. Diodorus (5. 31. 4) and Strabo (4. 198) also refer to them.

παντὶ χαλεπώτερον ἢ συμπάντων μὲν Ἑλλήνων συμπάντων δὲ βαρβάρων βασιλεύειν. ποῖον μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἄγριον ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐστὶν ὡς ὀργαί τε καὶ φθόνοι καὶ φιλονικίαι, ὧν αὐτὸν ἐγκρατῆ εἶναι δεῖ; ποῖον δὲ οὕτω[1] πανοῦργον καὶ ἐπίβουλον καὶ προδοτικὸν ὡς ἡδοναί τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι, ὧν αὐτὸν οὐδέποτε ἡττᾶσθαι δεῖ; ποῖον δὲ οὕτω βίαιον καὶ καταπληττόμενον[2] καὶ ταπεινοῦν τὰς ψυχὰς ὡς φόβοι τε καὶ λῦπαι, οἷς οὔποτε αὐτὸν
10 πρέπει ὑπείκοντα ὀφθῆναι; ποῖα δὲ ὅπλα, ποῖα δὲ ἐρύματα πρὸς ταῦτα προβέβληται, οἷα οἵ τε βασιλεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὶ πόλεως πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους; ποίοις δὲ συμμάχοις ἢ δορυφόροις ἐπὶ ταῦτα χρῆσθαι δυνατόν, εἰ μή γε τοῖς σοφοῖς καὶ φρονίμοις λόγοις; τίσι δὲ ἄλλοις ἐντείλασθαι φυλακὰς[3] ἢ ἐπιτρέψαι φρουρεῖν, ἢ ποίοις χρήσασθαι διακόνοις; ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸν δεῖ[4] καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν φροντίζοντα καὶ ἀγρυπνοῦντα τὴν φυλακὴν ταύτην ἔχειν, ὅπως μὴ λάθῃ[5] αὐτὸν[6] ἤτοι ἀνασεισθεὶς ὑπὸ ἡδονῶν ἢ καταπλαγεὶς ὑπὸ φόβων ἢ παρακρουσθεὶς ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμίας ἢ ταπεινωθεὶς ὑπὸ λύπης, ὥστε ἀποστῆναι τῶν βελτίστων καὶ δικαιο-
11 τάτων ἔργων προδότης αὑτοῦ γενόμενος; τῷ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἐγκρατῶς ἄρχοντι οὐ χαλεπὸν ἤδη καὶ συμπάντων ἀνθρώπων κρείττω γίγνεσθαι.

Ὁπόταν δὲ ταῦτα διεξίω περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, μηδείς με ἡγείσθω πρὸς τὸ σχῆμα ἀφορῶντα λέγειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα. οὔτε γὰρ τὸν οἶνον ἐκ τοῦ

[1] οὕτω added by Reiske.
[2] καταπληττόμενον] καταπληκτικὸν Selden.
[3] φυλακὰς Casaubon : φυλακῆς.

altogether more difficult than to be king over all the Greeks or all the barbarians. For what race of men is as savage as are anger and envy and contentiousness, things over which the philosopher must maintain control? What race is as knavish and intriguing and traitorous as are pleasures and lusts, by which he must never be overcome? What race is as violent and terrifying and debasing to men's souls as are fear and pain, to which he must never be seen to yield? Again, what armour, what defences does he possess for protection against these forces such as both kings and generals have against a foe? What allies or bodyguards can he employ against them, unless it be words of wisdom and prudence? Whom else can he bid do sentry duty or trust to stand guard, or what servants can he employ? Is he not, on the contrary, obliged to hold this watch himself both night and day, with anxious thought and vigilance, lest, ere he is aware of it, he may be excited by pleasures or terrified by fears or tricked by lust or brought low by pain and so be made to abandon those acts which are best and most righteous, turning traitor to himself? However, the man who administers this office with firmness and self-control does not find it difficult from then on to show himself superior even to the whole world.

But when I enter into these details regarding philosophers, let no one think I am speaking with a view to the outward appearance and the label.[1] For as sensible men do not judge wine from the jar in

[1] Cf. Or. 34. 2-3 and 35. 11.

[4] δεῖ Reiske: ἀεὶ. [5] λάθῃ Wilamowitz: λάθοι.
[6] αὐτὸν Reiske: αὐτὸς.

κεράμου κρίνουσιν οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες· πολλάκις γὰρ εὑρήσεις ἐν σπουδαίῳ κεράμῳ τὸν ἐκ τῶν καπηλείων οἶνον ἐξεστηκότα· οὔτε τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν πεπαι-
12 δευμένον ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος. τοὺς μέντοι πολλοὺς οὐ θαυμάζω ἐξαπατᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου. τὸν γὰρ Ὀδυσσέα καὶ τὸν Ἶρον οἱ μνηστῆρες συνέβαλον διὰ τὸ σχῆμα ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέροντας. ἔφη δέ τις τῶν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον φιλοσόφων οὐ φαῦλον, τὸν[1] Ἰσμηνίαν[2] τοῦτο μάλιστα ἀγανακτεῖν, τὸ καλεῖσθαι αὐλητὰς τοὺς τυμβαύλας, οὐ παντελῶς ὅμοιον ὄν,[3] ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. οὐ γὰρ βλάπτουσιν οὐδὲν οἱ τυμβαῦλαι τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδ' ἐνοχλοῦσιν, τῶν δὲ προσποιουμένων φιλοσοφεῖν ἔνιοι καὶ πολλὰ χαλεπὰ
13 ἐργάζονται. ἀλλὰ τοῦ[4] γε ὄντως φιλοσόφου τὸ ἔργον οὐχ ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ ἀρχὴ ἀνθρώπων. ὅστις δὲ ὀκνεῖ τὴν αὑτοῦ[5] πόλιν ἑκοῦσαν καὶ ἐπικαλουμένην διοικεῖν, οὐ φάσκων ἱκανὸς[6] εἶναι, ὅμοιός ἐστιν ὥσπερ εἴ τις τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα θεραπεύειν μὴ θέλοι, ἀξιῶν ἰατρὸς εἶναι, ἄλλους δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἰατρεύοι προθύμως ἀργύριον ἢ τιμὰς λαμβάνων, ὥσπερ ἐλάττω μισθὸν ὄντα ἑτέρου μισθοῦ τὴν ὑγίειαν, ἢ εἴ τις ἀξιῶν ἱκανὸς εἶναι παιδοτρίβης ἢ γραμμάτων διδάσκαλος ἀλλοτρίους μὲν παῖδας θέλοι διδάσκειν, τοὺς δὲ αὑτοῦ πέμποι πρὸς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν φαυλοτέρων, ἢ εἴ τις ἀμελήσας τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γονέων ἀλλοτρίους ἐθέλοι προτιμᾶν, οὓς[7] ἂν

[1] τὸν Crosby : τό.
[2] Ἰσμηνίαν Valesius, Ἰσμηνίου Arnim : Ἴσμηνον.
[3] ὅμοιον ὄν Reiske : οἷον δ' ὃν or οἷον δ' ὄνον.
[4] τοῦ Casaubon : τοῦτό.
[5] αὑτοῦ Emperius : αὐτοῦ.

which it is stored—for often you will find in an excellent jar the spoiled wine of the taverns—so also they do not judge the man of cultivation by his dress. Yet I am not surprised that most men are deceived by such a thing as that. For example, the suitors pitted Odysseus against Irus because of their dress, supposing the two to be no different.[1] But one of the philosophers who lived a short time ago has well said that it made Ismenias [2] especially angry that the pipers at funerals should be called flautists, though that is not quite the same thing, it seems to me. For the pipers at funerals do no harm to the dead nor do they annoy them, whereas some of those who profess to be philosophers really do many grievous things.[3] However, the function of the real philosopher is nothing else than to rule over human beings. But if a man, alleging that he is not competent, is reluctant to administer his own city when it wishes him to do so and calls upon him, it is as if some one should refuse to treat his own body, though professing to be a physician, and yet should readily treat other men in return for money or honours, just as if his health were a smaller recompense than another kind; or again, it is as if some one who claimed to be an able trainer of athletes or a teacher of letters should be willing to teach the sons of others, but should send his own son to some one else of less standing; or as if some one who neglected his own parents should be ready to prefer the parents of others, provided he

[1] I.e., both in rags. Cf. *Odyssey* 18. 40-41.
[2] Cf. Or. 32. 61.
[3] Cf. Or. 32. 9.

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[6] ἱκανὸς Selden : ἰατρός.
[7] προτιμᾶν, οὓς Casaubon : προκειμένους.

αἴσθηται πλουσιωτέρους ἐκείνων[1] ἢ μᾶλλον ἐνδό-
14 ξους. οὔτε γὰρ δικαιότερον οὔτε μὰ Δία[2] ἥδιον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπεριδόντα τοῖς μηδὲν προσήκουσιν ὠφέλιμον γίγνεσθαι.

Οὐκοῦν τό γε ἀκόλουθόν ἐστι τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ἄρχειν αὐτὸν βουλομένων[3] ὑμῶν.[4] ἀλλ' εὖ ἴστε ὅτι εἰ μή τι ἦν ἀδύνατον, οὐκ ἂν περιέμενον ὥστε ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἂν ἠξίουν καὶ παρεκάλουν. ἓν γάρ τι καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τῶν καλῶν καὶ σωφρόνων, αὐτὸν[5] παραγγέλλοντα καὶ χάριν εἰδότα τῆς χειροτονίας ἄρχειν τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ καθαιροῦντα
15 μηδὲ ἄτιμον τὸ πρᾶγμα ποιήσαντα. τί οὖν ἐστι τὸ ἀδύνατον ἐν τῷ παρόντι; ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ τἄλλα ἀξιῶ πιστεύεσθαι ἐφ'[6] ὧν λέγω—οὐδέποτε γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐξηπάτησα, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, ὑπὲρ οὐδενός· οὐδὲ πρότερον ἄλλως διανοούμενος εἶπον—ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πλείους ἀσχολίαι[7] . . . καταλιπεῖν μέχρι τοῦδε οὐχ ἑκόντα με κατέσχηκεν. τὸ δὲ νῦν οὐκέτι ἐγχωρεῖ σχεδόν. οὔτε γὰρ ἐμοὶ οὔτε ἴσως ὑμῖν ἄμεινόν ἐστιν ἐμὲ διατρίβειν ἐνθάδε. ὥστε παραιτοῦμαι τὴν ψῆφον. ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἐδεήθην[8] ἐξετάσεως, ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ πρότερον ἐν τῷ φανερῷ

[1] ἐκείνων Reiske : ἐκείνους.
[2] μὰ Δία Emperius : μᾶλλον.
[3] βουλομένων Wilamowitz : βουλόμενον.
[4] οὐκοῦν . . . ὑμῶν deleted by Emperius.
[5] αὐτὸν Reiske : τόν.
[6] ἐφ' Casaubon : ὑφ'.
[7] Wilamowitz noted a lacuna at this point. The missing words need not have been many, but they must have included a subject for κατέσχηκεν.
[8] ἐδεήθην] ἐδεήθη Arnim.

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[1] Though Dio has been speaking of the philosopher in

found them to be more wealthy or more distinguished than his own. For it is neither more righteous nor, by Heaven, more pleasant to disdain those who are related by ties of blood and then to be of service to those who are not relatives at all.

Very well, the conclusion to be drawn from these remarks is that the philosopher should hold office, since you wish it. However, you may be sure that, if there were not some insuperable obstacle, I should not be waiting to be asked but should myself be asking, yes, entreating you.[1] For this too is a mark of those who are noble and sound-minded, that a man should rule his fellow citizens, himself announcing his candidacy and being grateful for his election instead of depreciating the honour, or even making it a dishonour. What, then, is the insuperable obstacle in the present instance? I think I deserve to be believed in everything else whereof I speak—for in my opinion I have never deceived you in anything, nor have I in the past said one thing and meant another[2]—yet I have always had too many engagements,[3] and against my own inclination I have thus far been prevented from abandoning them.[4] And now it is no longer possible at all, practically speaking. For it is not to my interest, and possibly not to yours either, that I should tarry here. Therefore I beg to decline my election. For I feel sure that I should not have had to submit to investigation, but that, just as previously you elected me unanimously by

the abstract, it now becomes plain that he is referring to himself.

[2] He is referring to his announced intention to leave Prusa. See Introduction.

[3] I.e., too many engagements to permit him to accept office.

[4] Somewhat amplified in translation. See critical note.

πάντες ἐψηφίσασθε, ὁπότε με ὑπενοήσατε βούλεσθαι, τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ νῦν ἂν ἐποιήσατε. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχω οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὲν ἄρξω, ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἔδει με παρακαλεῖν,[1] *ἵνα δὲ ἀφεθῶ, ὑπὲρ τούτου παρακαλῶν οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι.*

[1] *παρακαλεῖν* Emperius : *παρακαλεῖσθαι.*

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[1] The phrases *ἐδεήθην ἐξετάσεως* and *ἐν τῷ φανερῷ*, here somewhat freely translated, are taken to mean that the

acclamation[1] when you suspected I was willing to take office, you would have done the same now too. However, I am not so minded; but while I know that in order to hold office I should not have been obliged to call upon you, yet in order to be excused from holding office I am not ashamed to be calling upon you.

Council would dispense with both the usual scrutiny of the candidate for election and also the usual secret ballot. On the whole situation hinted at in § 15, see Introduction.

THE FIFTIETH DISCOURSE: REGARDING HIS PAST RECORD, SPOKEN BEFORE THE COUNCIL

This Discourse is really earlier in date than Or. 49, though the interval between the two is presumably very brief. In the one Dio disclaims the ambition to become archon, announcing his intention to leave Prusa (50. 7), in the other he declines that office in an election already in progress, referring to his departure as to an event of the immediate future (49. 15). The projected journey is referred to briefly also in the opening sentence of Or. 45. A possible explanation of the reason for the journey and for the repeated postponement of it is suggested in the Introduction to Or. 49.

Our Discourse affords no sure clue as to the reason for the meeting of the Council. It may have been a regular session of that body, though we learn (§ 10) that Dio had been charged with having interfered with its convening. At all events the setting for this defence of his past record was highly dramatic. The presiding officer must have been his own son (*τὸν υἱὸν τοῦτον*, § 5), to whose recent election as archon Dio seems to refer at the close of Or. 48. Dio himself was a member of the Council, for in § 10 he is at some pains to explain why he has not been in attendance upon earlier sessions.

Arnim argues with some plausibility that, when on a previous occasion Dio had declined election as archon, he had engineered the substitution of his son for that position. We do not know the precise age of the son at the time of his election, but the reference to his inexperience (Or. 48. 17) leads us to suppose that he was young for the highest office in the state, and that supposition is confirmed by the conclud-

ing sentence of the present Discourse as emended by Capps. What more natural, then, than that Dio's enemies should have spread the report that the son was merely a cat's paw for the father, and that, while evading the responsibilities of office, Dio was exercising all its prerogatives—*πάντα ἁπλῶς νομίζουσι τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς γίγνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην*, § 10? Against that rumour Dio offers the favourite Greek argument of probability, pointing to his previous record and claiming that it would be inconsistent, especially for one of his age, to refrain from exercising the prerogatives of a member of the Council, while at the same time trying to usurp the functions of its presiding officer. The fact that shortly thereafter he was put up as a candidate for that office suggests either that his arguments or his flattery or both had silenced the opposition or else that his foes were really a very small minority. There is in these Bithynian addresses abundant testimony to his popularity and influence at Prusa.

50. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΡΓΩΝ ΕΝ ΒΟΥΛΗΙ

1 Ἐγὼ καὶ πρότερον μὲν ὑμᾶς ἠγάπων, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ οὐκ[1] ἀνόητον τὸ φρονιμώτατον στέργειν τῆς πατρίδος καὶ βεβαιότατον· τὸ δὲ ὑμῶν ἄλλους προτιμᾶν ὅμοιον ὥσπερ εἴ τις φιλόπολις εἶναι λέγων ταῖς οἰκίαις μὲν ἥδοιτο καὶ τοῖς ἐργαστηρίοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὴν δὲ ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ πρυτανεῖον καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ἀμελέστερον ὁρῴη, ἢ νὴ Δία εἴ τις Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐφίλει, τοὺς δὲ βασιλέας καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ τοὺς γέροντας ἠτίμαζε τοὺς σωφροσύνῃ τῶν ἄλλων διαφέροντας καὶ δι᾽ οὓς ἅπασα ἡ πόλις ἐσῴζετο.
2 ὅπου καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, οἳ μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων ἐδημοκρατοῦντο καὶ πλεῖστον ἔνεμον τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ δημοτικοῖς, οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὕτως ἐγένετο θρασὺς δημαγωγός, οὐδὲ Ὑπέρβολος ἐκεῖνος ἢ Κλέων, ὥστε τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον ἢ τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς

[1] οὐκ added by Casaubon.

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[1] That all these places should be called ἱερά should not surprise us. The market-place was dotted with altars and memorials and shrines, and town-hall and council-chamber each had its religious rites and associations.

THE FIFTIETH DISCOURSE: REGARDING HIS PAST RECORD, SPOKEN BEFORE THE COUNCIL

My friends, I admired you even ere this, as indeed it was to be expected that a man of fairness and no fool would cherish that element in his native city which is most sensible and trustworthy; on the other hand, to rank others ahead of you is as if a man who professed to be patriotic were to delight in the private houses and workshops in his city, but to regard with more indifference the market-place, the town-hall, the council-chamber, and the other sacrosanct places [1]; or as if, by Heaven, a Spartan were to be fond of the common people, but were to hold in low esteem the kings and ephors and elders, men by far superior to all others in prudence, men by whose efforts the city as a whole was being preserved.[2] Again, take the Athenians, who had the most democratic government in the world and gave the most numerous privileges to the masses and the people's party; they never had any demagogue, not even the notorious Hyperbolus [3] or Cleon, so audacious as to regard the Areopagus or

[2] The ephors and elders had even more prestige than the kings.

[3] Hyperbolus shared with the more famous Cleon, whom he succeeded as leader of the democratic party, the special ridicule of the comic poets.

ἑξακοσίους ἀτιμότερον τοῦ δήμου νομίζειν. εἰ δὲ συνεχῶς μέμνημαι Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, συγγνώμην ἐχέτωσαν οἱ πάνυ δριμεῖς, ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων παραδειγμάτων ὑμᾶς ἀξίους κρίνω, καὶ πρὸς Ἕλληνας, ὡς οἶμαι, διαλεγόμενος οὐκ ἄλλων τινῶν μᾶλλον ἡγοῦμαι πρέπειν μνημονεύειν ἢ τῶν ἄκρως Ἑλλήνων.

3 Τῆς δ' οὖν εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τῆς πίστεως ἐκεῖνο ὑμῖν γιγνέσθω τεκμήριον, ὅτι μήτε ἑταιρείᾳ τινὶ πεποιθὼς μήτε συνήθεις ἐξ ὑμῶν ἔχων τινὰς θαρρῶν εἰσέρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ νομίζω μηδενὸς ἔλαττον ἂν ἔχειν, δῆλον ὅτι τῇ κοινῇ φιλίᾳ πεπιστευκὼς καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἅπαντας εὐνοίᾳ, μηδὲ[1] ἰσχυρὸς ἢ φοβερὸς εἶναι δοκῶν ἢ βουλόμενος[2] διὰ τοῦτο θεραπεύεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἠλέουν τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ὅτε ἦσαν ἐλεεινοί, καὶ καθ' ὅσον οἷόν τε ἦν ἐπικουφίζειν ἐπειρώμην, οὐθέν ἐστι τοῦτο σημεῖον τοῦ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἔχειν οἰκειότερον· ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀεὶ τὸ κάμνον θεραπεύομεν καὶ πλείονα ποιούμεθα πρόνοιαν ποδῶν ἢ ὀφθαλμῶν, ὅταν οἱ μὲν ἀλγῶσι
4 καὶ πεπονθότες ὦσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑγιαίνωσιν. εἰ δὲ εἶπον ἐλεεινοὺς τοὺς δημοτικούς, μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ λέγειν με ὡς ἄδικα καὶ παράνομα ἔπασχον, ὁπότε καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν τεμνομένους ἢ καομένους, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πάσχοντας ταῦτα, ἐλεοῦμεν, καὶ δακρύου-

[1] μηδὲ Emperius, μή γε Arnim : μήτε.
[2] After βουλόμενος Crosby deletes ὡς.

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[1] The old Council of Five Hundred was enlarged to six hundred in honour of Demetrius Poliorcetes, the tribes having been increased to twelve.
[2] Cf. Or. 43. 7.
[3] He speaks more sympathetically regarding the commons

the Council of the Six Hundred [1] with less reverence than the common people. But if I am continually referring to the Spartans and Athenians, let the carping critics pardon me, because I am judging you worthy of such comparisons and because in addressing Greeks, as I take to be the case, I deem it appropriate not to refer to any others than Greeks of the first rank.

However that may be, let this be your evidence of my goodwill toward you, as well as of my trust in you, that I come before you with assurance neither because I rely upon some political club nor because I have among you some familiar friends; moreover, I believe I should stand as high with you as any man, obviously because I have based my confidence upon my friendship toward all and my goodwill toward all, and not upon my being held to be an influential or formidable person or seeking to be favoured for such a reason. On the other hand, if I did pity the commons at the time when they were subjects for pity, and if I tried my best to ease their burdens,[2] this is no sign that I am on more friendly terms with them than with you. We know that, in the case of the body, it is always the ailing part which we treat, and that we devote more attention to the feet than to the eyes, if the feet are in pain and have been injured while the eyes are in sound condition. Again, if I have said that the commons were subjects for pity, let no one assume that I mean they have been treated unfairly and illegally,[3] for we also pity persons who are subjected by physicians to surgery or cautery, although such treatment is for their recovery, and

in Or. 43, but it must be remembered that he was on that occasion addressing the popular assembly.

σιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ μητέρες καὶ πατέρες, εἰδότες ὠφελουμένους.

Ὃ δὲ ἔφην, ὅτι καὶ πρότερον ὑμᾶς ἠγάπων πρὶν ἢ πεῖραν ἱκανὴν εἰληφέναι τῆς διανοίας, νῦν γε ὀμνύω τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν ἅπαντας, ἦ μὴν ἔγωγε τὴν βουλὴν οὐ μόνον ἀξίαν τιμῆς κρίνω καὶ φιλίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμάζω τὴν ἰσχὺν ὑμῶν καὶ τὴν ἀλή-
5 θειαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. καὶ τοῦτον ἔσχηκα τὸν τρόπον, ὥστε τῷ δήμῳ μὲν ἐκτετικέναι δοκεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δύναμιν ὡς πολίτης, ὑμῖν δὲ ὀφείλειν καὶ μηδέποτε ἂν δυνηθῆναι τὴν ὑμετέραν εὔνοιαν ὑπερβαλέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν τινος ῥητόρων, ὑπερβολήν τινα ἔχειν δοκοῦν κολακείας, ὅτι τὸν δῆμον εἰκότως ἂν ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς περιφεροίμην,[1] ἐγὼ δικαίως ἂν εἴποιμι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦτον, εἰ νοῦν ἔχει καὶ σωφρονεῖ,[2] νομίζω πάντα τὸν βίον ὑμῖν ἀναθήσειν καὶ θεραπεύσειν ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἧττον ἐμοῦ.

6 Τίνος γενομένου, φήσει τις, καὶ τίνα τῶν ἀνδρῶν πεῖραν εἰληφὼς οὕτως ὑπερδιατείνῃ; ἴσως ἐπίπνοιά τίς μοι γέγονεν αὐτόματος καὶ φορὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τοιαύτη πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐκεῖνο δ᾽ οὖν ἐπίστασθε σαφῶς ὅτι οὔτε δῆμον οὔτε βουλὴν οὔτε ἄνδρα,

[1] περιφεροίμην] περιφέροι μὴν M, περιφέροι, νῦν Hemsterhuis.
[2] σωφρονεῖ Reiske : σωφρονεῖν.

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[1] § 1.

[2] Like many other passages in this speech, the allusion, though doubtless clear to the audience, is less clear to the reader. Possibly Dio is alluding to the Council's indulgence

since their mothers and fathers alike weep over them, although they know that they are being benefited.

However, as I was saying,[1] though I admired you even ere this, before ever I had had sufficient experience of your disposition, now certainly, I swear to you by all the gods, I for my part not only judge the Council worthy of respect and affection, but am even amazed at your power and truthfulness and independence. Moreover, I have conducted myself in such a way that, while I have, as I think, repaid the people in full to the best of my ability as a citizen, yet to you I am still indebted, and I could never outdo your benevolence toward me.[2] And in fact that expression which was used by one of the orators of old which was considered to contain a certain excess of flattery, namely, "I might with good reason carry the commons around with me in my eyes," I could justly use with reference to you. And what is more, this son of mine, if he is sensible and prudent, I believe will dedicate his whole life to your service and consult your welfare no less than I do.

"What has happened," some one will say, "and what experience of the gentlemen have you had, that you are so extravagant in your language?"[3] Possibly it is an inspiration which has come to me spontaneously, a spiritual impulse of that sort in your direction; but one thing at any rate I would have you know clearly—that I cannot cherish or favour with my eloquence either commons or Council or

in the matter of his son, to whom he presently refers. See Introduction.

[3] The gentlemen in question were of course the members of the Council, before whom he was then speaking. He is well aware how extravagant is his praise, and he is quick to anticipate likely criticisms and to make capital out of them.

σατράπην ἢ δυνάστην ἢ τύραννον, στέργειν ἢ θεραπεύειν τοῖς λόγοις ἐγὼ δύναμαι, μὴ παρ' ἐμαυτῷ πρότερον αὐτὸν ἐπαινέσας καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος ἀποδεξάμενος. ὑμᾶς δὲ ὁρῶ, σχεδὸν ὁσάκις ὑμῶν γέγονε πεῖρα τῆς διανοίας, μηδὲν πώποτε ἄδικον μηδὲ ἀμφίβολον μηδὲ[1] ταπεινὸν μηδὲ[2] εὐμετάβολον μηδὲ[3] ἀναίσθητον μηδ' ἧτταν[4] ἢ θορύβων ἢ πραγ-
7 μάτων ἐπιδεδειγμένους· ὥστε εἴποιμ' ἂν θαρρῶν, ἔχετε μὲν προστάτας χρηστούς, οὐδένα δὲ ἄξιον ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν πρότερον[5] τὸν ἐμὸν πατέρα ἢ πάππον οὐδὲ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων, πάντας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τιμῆς ἀξίους.

Καὶ μηδείς με νομίσῃ λέγειν ἐμαυτὸν εἰσποιοῦντα τῷ προΐστασθαι τῆς βουλῆς· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἄπειμι διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας—καὶ πιστεύσατε ὡς νῦν γοῦν[6] ἀληθῶς λέγω—καὶ ἴσως οὐκ ἐμαυτοῦ χάριν ὠφελείας ἢ τρυφῆς τινος· ἣν δὲ εἶχον ἀποκρύψασθαι
8 γνώμην οὐκ ἐδυνάμην. καὶ οὐκ ἔστι δέος μήποτε ἐγὼ δόξω κολακεύειν ὑμᾶς, οὐ κολακεύσας τὸν ἐχθρὸν τύραννον οὐδὲ ῥῆμα ἀγεννὲς οὐδὲ ἀνελεύθερον εἰπών, ὅτε πολλοῖς ἀγαπητὸν ἦν ζῆν ὁτιοῦν πράττουσι καὶ λέγουσιν. ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖ μέγα καὶ θεῖον εἶναι τὸ γιγνόμενον παρ' ὑμῖν. ἰδίᾳ μὲν γὰρ ὁποῖοί ποτέ ἐστε οὐ σφόδρα ἀκριβῶς ἐπίσταμαι· νομίζω δὲ βελτίους τῶν πολλῶν· κοινῇ δέ, ὅταν συνέλθητε

[1] μηδὲ Emperius : μήτε. [2] μηδὲ Emperius : μήτε.
[3] μηδὲ Emperius : μήτε.
[4] μηδ' ἧτταν added by Emperius.
[5] After πρότερον Emperius deletes ἤ.
[6] νῦν γοῦν Emperius : γοῦν νῦν or γοῦν.

[1] Such fulsome flattery suggests that there had been friction between the Council and its presiding officer, and that Dio is willing to go to any length to heal the trouble.

man, be he satrap or prince or tyrant, without first praising them to myself and approving the character of their spirit. But in your case, practically every time there has been a test of your disposition, I see you have never displayed any injustice or double-dealing or baseness or fickleness or insensibility or yielding to clamour or annoyance. And so I might say with assurance, that, while you have had excellent leaders, you have had none as excellent as you deserve, no, not even my father or my grandfather of days gone by, nor the forebears of the rest of you, all good men and deserving of honour as they were.[1]

And let no one imagine that I am trying through oratory to force my way into the presidency of the Council: for I am leaving Prusa for a variety of reasons—and you must believe that this time at least I speak the truth[2]—and perhaps not for the sake of personal profit or any self-indulgence; indeed I have not been able to hide my purpose.[3] Besides, there is no fear that I may ever be thought guilty of flattering you, since I did not flatter the hateful tyrant[4] or utter a single ignoble or servile word, at a time when many were glad to save their lives by any deed or word at all. On the contrary, your way of doing things seems to me to be grand, yes, superhuman. For, while I do not know with absolute precision what you are like in private life—though I believe you to be superior to most people—I do know

[2] Dio has not yet taken his departure when he delivers Or. 49. See the Introduction to that Discourse for a possible explanation.

[3] Apparently Dio had divulged his purpose to some of his acquaintances privately. He may have hoped to secure further grants for Prusa. See his veiled allusion in Or. 49. 15.

[4] Domitian. Cf. Or. 45. 1.

δεῦρο ἢ πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, οὐδὲν πώποτε οὔτε ταπεινὸν οὔτε ἀνελεύθερον οἶδα εἰπόντας ἢ φρονήσαντας ὑμᾶς, οὐ παράκλησιν ἰσχύουσαν παρ' ὑμῖν, οὐχ ὑπόσχεσιν, οὐκ ἀπείλησιν,[1] εἴ τις ἄρα τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, ὥστ' ἰσχύειν ἀπειλῶν. διὰ τί δὲ μὴ φῶ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐμαυτῷ, καθάπερ δέον τὸν φιλόσοφον τὰ πονηρὰ μόνον ἐξελέγχειν, τὰ δὲ βελτίω παρακαλύπτεσθαι, ἢ τὴν ἀλήθειαν[2] ἐπὶ μόνοις τοῖς κακοῖς οὖσαν ὠφέλιμον, ἀλλ' οὐ[3] καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οὐδὲν ἧττον, ὅτι εὔφημος;

9 Σὺ δ'[4] οὖν, φήσει τις, ἐγκώμιον ἀναστὰς ἠθέλησας εἰπεῖν τῆς βουλῆς; καὶ τί δεινόν, ἐὰν ἀληθὲς ᾖ; τὸ δὲ ἐγκώμιον τοῦτο, ἐὰν φαίνησθε ἀνόμοιοι τοῖς λεγομένοις, οὐχ ὑμέτερός ἐστιν ἔπαινος, τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος κατηγορία. ὅμως δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐποιησάμην οὐδένα λόγον τοιοῦτον εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἤλγησα, ὥσπερ πρότερόν ποτε, ἀκούσας ὅτι καθυφίεμαι τὸ ὑμέτερον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπελογησάμην, οὐχ ὑπερορῶν ἀπολογεῖσθαι· πόθεν; οὐδὲ κρίνων ἐμαυτοῦ ταπεινότερον. νυστάζοντι μὲν γάρ, ὥς φασι, δικαστῇ, καὶ νὴ Δία τυράννῳ κακοήθει καὶ πονηρῷ ταπεινὸν ἀπολογεῖσθαι· πολίταις δὲ καὶ συγγενέσι καὶ φίλοις, οὕς τις ἡγεῖται μετρίους, οὐ ταπεινόν, ἀλλ' εὔγνωμον καὶ δίκαιον. καὶ τότε οὖν ὀρθῶς ἐποίησα καὶ νῦν πολλῷ μᾶλλον, ὅτε ὑμᾶς σαφέσ-
10 τερον ἐπίσταμαι. πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὥς τινες ἔδοξαν

[1] οὐκ ἀπείλησιν added by Post, οὐκ ἀπειλήν Arnim, οὔτ' ἀπειλάς Reiske.
[2] After ἀλήθειαν Reiske deletes οὐκ.
[3] ἀλλ' οὐ Emperius: ἀλλά.
[4] δ' added by Capps.

that as a corporate body, whenever you gather here, or, it may be, in the Assembly, you have never said or thought anything base or servile, and that entreaty has no weight with you, nor promises, nor threats—supposing of course there is any one so low as to try to prevail by threats. But why should I not speak my mind—as if the philosopher had to confine himself to exposing what is bad and concealing what is better, or as if the truth were beneficial only in connexion with evils, instead of no less so in connexion with good things, because it is laudatory!

"But did you, then," some one will ask, "rise to your feet merely to deliver a eulogy of the Council?" And what is there shocking in that, provided the eulogy be true? However, this eulogy of mine, in case you are clearly unlike what is said of you, is not a eulogy of you, but rather an accusation of the speaker. Still, for all that, I should not have delivered any such speech at all if I had not been very much hurt, as I was once before,[1] on hearing that I am compromising your position. And this explains why I have defended myself, not disdaining to make a defence—why should I?—nor judging it to be beneath me. For while it is humiliating to make a defence before a dozing judge, as the saying goes, and also, by Heaven, before a malicious and rascally tyrant, to do so before fellow citizens and kinsmen and friends whom one regards as fair-minded is not humiliating, but reasonable and just. So not only was my conduct correct on that former occasion,[2] but it is much more so now that I know you better. For I learn—and

[1] The allusion is perhaps purposely vague. Dio may be alluding to his defence of the commons (cf. §§ 3-4).

[2] See preceding note.

—καὶ λόγος ἐρρύη τοιοῦτος—ὡς ἐμὲ ἐμποδὼν γενόμενον τῷ συνάγεσθαι βουλήν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τόδε ἤκουσα ὡς πάντα ἁπλῶς νομίζουσι τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς γίγνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκεῖνο μὲν οὐκ ἀφαιροῦμαι τὸν υἱόν, τὸ μηδὲν ἄκοντος ἂν ἐμοῦ ποιῆσαι τῶν ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ μηδὲ ἄλλως ἂν ἢ στοχαζόμενον καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης· ὀμνύω δὲ μὴ προστάξαι μηδεπώποτε μηδέν, λέγω δὲ τῶν κοινῶν, τὸ δὲ[1] συμβουλεύειν πατέρα[2] ὄντα τὰ[3] κρείττονα δοκοῦντα προστάγματος ἔχει[4] τάξιν. καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν ταύτην ἀπὸ χρόνου τινὸς οὐδὲ ταῖς βουλαῖς παρετύγχανον. τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν[5] αὐτὸν ἀξιώσαντα τῶν[6] τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἱκανὸν ὄντα βουλεύεσθαι ἤδη καὶ διοικεῖν τὰ κοινά, μεταξὺ δὲ ἔργῳ ποιεῖν ἰδιώτην καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῆς κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἄκυρον οὔτε ἄλλως ἐπιεικὲς οὔτε ἴσον[7] αὖ τοῖς[8] τηλικούτοις.

[1] τὸ δὲ Wilamowitz : μηδὲ.
[2] πατέρα Reiske : πότερα.
[3] τὰ added by Wilamowitz.
[4] ἔχει Wilamowitz : ἔχειν.
[5] ἔχειν] ἄρχειν Selden.
[6] τῶν added by Capps.
[7] ἴσον Capps : ἴσως.
[8] αὖ τοῖς with UT, τοῖς Pflugk : αὐτοῖς BM.

there has been a flood of talk of that kind—that some have believed the charge that I blocked the assembling of the Council ; indeed I have heard also that they believe that absolutely every act of the government takes place to suit my wishes. But as for me, while I do not rob my son of one thing, I mean his unwillingness to do anything within his own control against my wishes or in any other way than guessing at my opinion too, nevertheless I swear I never gave him any orders at all—I mean orders on public matters —though for one who is a father to advise what seems to him preferable does have the status of an order. Moreover, because of this suspicion of which I have spoken, for some time past I have not attended the sessions of the Council. For to have deemed him worthy of municipal activities as being competent by now to be a Councillor and to administer the commonwealth, but meanwhile actually to try to make him a private citizen and to rob him of the authority which is legally his—this, I say, is from any point of view neither reasonable nor yet fair for men of my age.[1]

[1] For an interpretation of these concluding sentences, see the Introduction.

THE FIFTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: IN REPLY TO DIODORUS

Of the Diodorus mentioned in the title of the present Discourse we know absolutely nothing. Dio supplies no clues in the speech itself. In fact, he does not address him directly. Consequently we may infer that the name rests upon reliable tradition. It would appear that the man in question had just made a speech in Assembly lauding some citizen of Prusa. It is plain from § 8 that this citizen had effected certain reforms in connexion with the ephebes.[1] Diodorus may have moved—or seconded—a resolution to give him wider jurisdiction of similar character (cf. § 6). Dio followed him with this brief speech, whose purpose is both to register his own approval of the proposal and at the same time to cast suspicion upon the sincerity of the previous speaker.

If we are left in the dark as to Diodorus, we are in almost equal darkness as to the unnamed recipient of the city's favour. Arnim states confidently that he is Dio's son. This is possible, but the speech provides no proof of the assumption. On the contrary, the speaker exhibits remarkable self-restraint, if we are to think of him as the father of the person who is receiving signal honours. Most of his remarks are devoted to the merits of his city, and when he does refer to the man whom that city is honouring, it is by means of a colourless τούτου or τοῦδε. In fact, the rather satirical tone of the

[1] The term ephebes was used of young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty. Athens seems to have instituted the system of providing systematic training for such young men, and the system assumed ever greater importance from the fourth century B.C. onward, as is witnessed by numerous inscriptions.

opening sentence in § 2, the grudging acknowledgement at the beginning of § 4, and the possible suggestion of hasty judgement contained in the clause *εὐθὺς ἡγεῖσθε καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀμείνους δύνασθαι ποιεῖν* (§ 8), give the impression that Dio was not enthusiastic over the task before him.

51. ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΝ

1 Σφόδρα θαυμάζειν ἔπεισιν, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἴ τις οὐκ ἀποδεχόμενός τινα οὐδὲ ἀγαπῶν ἔπειτα ἀναστὰς ἐπαινεῖ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐνίοτε διῆλθεν ἐγκώμιον μακρὸν καὶ λίαν ἐπιμελῶς συγκείμενον. ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι τῶν αἰσχίστων οὐ σύνοιδεν αὑτῷ, φθόνον,[1] μικροψυχίαν, τὸ πάντων ἔσχατον, δουλείαν. λέγεται γοῦν οὐκ ἀτόπως καὶ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς·

δούλου τόδ' εἶπας.[1]

φέρε δή, πῶς οὐκ[2] ἂν εἴη δοῦλος ὁ πρὸς τοσούτους ἅμα ἀνθρώπους ἕτερα ὧν φρονεῖ ποιῶν,[3] καὶ ταῦτα οὐχ ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ μετὰ φροντίδος καὶ παρασκευῆς, καὶ κολακεύων πολλάκις ἄνθρωπον καὶ θαυμάζων ὃν οὐ φιλεῖ; μέτριον γὰρ οὕτως εἰπεῖν.

2 Καὶ μὴν ὅτι πάντες πάντας[4] ἐγκωμιάζουσι παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπίστασθε δήπου· ὥστ' ἐγὼ συνήδομαι καὶ κρίνω μακαρίους ὑμᾶς, εἰ οὕτως φιλοῦμεν πάντες ἅπαντας. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ἀκόλουθον. ἐβουλόμην δ' ἄν, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις[2] πολλῶν ἐγκωμίων ἀκοῦσαι ἔστιν, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῇ

[1] φθόνον] φόβον Geel. [2] οὐκ added by Emperius.
[3] ποιῶν εἰπών] Herwerden. [4] πάντας Reiske : πάντα.

[1] Euripides, *Phoenissae* 392.
[2] We infer that Dio is addressing the Assembly.

THE FIFTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: IN REPLY TO DIODORUS

My friends, it strikes me as exceedingly surprising when a man who does not approve of some one or does not like him nevertheless rises to praise him in a speech, and on occasion enters into a long eulogy, one very carefully composed. For such a person has on his conscience all that is most disgraceful—envy, meanness of spirit, and, worst of all, servility. Not inappropriately, at any rate, is that term used for it by the ancients in the verse

A slave's word this thou hast spoken.[1]

Aye, how could that man be other than a slave, who in the presence of so many people [2] acts at variance with his own thoughts—and that too, not with frankness, but with premeditation and cold calculation—and indulges in frequent flattery and admiration of a person whom he does not like? Indeed that is to put it mildly!

As a matter of fact, you know, no doubt, that with us everybody lauds everybody; and so I rejoice with you and count you fortunate if we all are so fond of everybody—for this is the natural inference! However, I wish that, just as it is possible to hear many eulogies in meetings of the Council and of the Assembly, so also it might be in the market-place and

ἀγορᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συλλόγοις. νῦν δὲ παρὰ τὸν τόπον τοιαῦτα[1] ἢ τοιαῦτά ἐστι τὰ λεγόμενα, καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ γυμνάζοντες αὑτοὺς ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐγχειροῦμεν εἰς ἀμφότερα. οὐκοῦν, ἂν μὲν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τις παραγένηται τῶν ξένων, ἡρώων τινῶν ἢ σοφῶν ἡγήσεται τὴν πόλιν· ἂν δ' εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμβάλῃ, ὁποίων οὐδὲν δεῖ λέγειν· ἐπί-
3 στασθε γὰρ αὐτοί. τί οὖν, φήσει τις, ἀνέστης ἐπιτιμήσων τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσιν; οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία, ἀλλ' ὅπως, ἂν δυνατόν, μὴ μόνον ἐνθάδε ὦμεν φιλάνθρωποι καὶ φιλάγαθοι, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἐν[2] παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ καιρῷ.

Τὸν μὲν οὖν τούτου ἔπαινον ὁρῶ πεπληρωμένον ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὥστε μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ἔχειν· ἄξιον δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπαινεῖν. δοκεῖτε[3] γάρ μοι πολὺ πάντων τῶν δήμων διαφέρειν. κἀγὼ τοῦτο οὐκ ἂν εἶπον, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐφρόνουν οὕτως. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελὲς μόνον βλέπουσιν, καὶ τοὺς διδόντας αὐτοῖς ἢ δυναμένους διδόναι, τούτους ἐπαινοῦσιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν καὶ τὸ
4 βούλεσθαι μέγα εἶναι νομίζετε. καὶ οὐχὶ τοῦτό φημι, ὡς οὐχὶ καὶ πεποίηκε πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα· πεποίηκε γάρ· ἀλλ' ὅτι ὑμῖν γε ἀπέχρη καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι αὐτόν. ἔτι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰ ἐλάχιστα τῶν γενομένων ἀποδέχονται· λέγω δὲ ὅσα ἔχει

[1] τοιαῦτα added by Selden.
[2] ἐν added by Reiske. [3] δοκεῖτε Reiske : δοκεῖ.

[1] Some of Dio's own compositions illustrate the point, e.g., Or. 11.

the other places where men come together. But as it is, the words which are spoken are thus or thus in keeping with the place, and, just like those who are training themselves in the schools, we too try our hands at both sides of the question.[1] Therefore, if a stranger attends a meeting of the Assembly, he will imagine that ours is a city of heroes, as it were, or sages; whereas if he bursts into the market-place—there is no need to tell what kind of people he will think us, for you know that yourselves. "What then," some one will exclaim, "have you taken the floor to censure those who praise?" Not so, by Heaven, but in order that, if possible, we may demonstrate our love of humanity and of nobility, not here alone, but in every place and on every occasion.

Now although I observe that the laudation of the gentleman[2] has been made complete by you, so that nothing remains to be added,[3] yet it is fitting that you also should be praised. For you seem to me to be far superior to all other communities. And I should not have said this if I did not think so too. For example, all the others have an eye only for what is profitable, and those who give them something—or might do so—alone receive their praise; whereas you regard as of great importance both the earnest desire and the willingness to give. And I do not mean by this that our friend has not really rendered much important service, for he has, but rather that for you at least his mere willingness was sufficient. And again, the others stamp with approval the least important achievements—I mean such things as

[2] I.e., the unnamed person who is being honoured by the Assembly.

[3] It would seem that more than one had sung his praises.

δαπάνην τινά· ὑμεῖς δὲ τῶν μεγίστων αἰσθάνεσθε κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν. ἔστι δὲ τῷ παντὶ μεῖζον τοῦ δαπανᾶν τὸ κήδεσθαί τινα τῆς πόλεως καὶ φανερὸν εἶναι εὐνοοῦντα ὑμῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι τοὺς νουθετοῦντας, κἂν διὰ λόγου[1] τοῦτο ποιῶσι, μισοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ μεθ' ἡδονῆς κολακεύοντας θαυμαστῶς ἀποδέχονται· παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ τοὐναντίον ὁ πλείστῃ παρρησίᾳ χρώμενος καὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν ἐπιπλήττων καὶ σωφρονίζων, οὗτος μάλιστα ἀγαπᾶται.

5 Τίς οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἀγαπήσειε τοιαύτην πόλιν καὶ πολιτείαν ἐν ᾗ τῶν[2] φιλοτιμιῶν αἱ τιμαὶ μείζους εἰσίν, ὁ δὲ μετ' εὐνοίας νουθετῶν τοῦ μετὰ κολακείας ὁμιλοῦντος μᾶλλον στέργεται, προθυμότεροι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοὶ σωφρονίζεσθαι καὶ ἐπανορθοῦσθαι ἢ θεραπεύεσθαι καὶ τρυφᾶν· ἢ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὑμᾶς μὲν ἐκπλαγείη, τοῦτον δ' εὐδαιμονίσειεν, ὑφ' ὑμῶν τοιούτων ὄντων κεκριμένον τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς ἄξιον;

6 Καίτοι[3] ἔγωγε μέγαν αὐτῷ τὸν ἀγῶνα ὁρῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὄντα. ὅτῳ γὰρ πόλις ὅλη καὶ δῆμος ἑκὼν ἐπέτρεψε παιδεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ ὃν ἐπιστάτην εἵλετο τῆς κοινῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ὅτῳ τὴν μεγίστην ἀρχὴν ἔδωκε τῆς σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς εὐταξίας καὶ τοῦ καλῶς βιοῦν ἕκαστον, πῶς οὐχὶ τούτῳ μέγας[4] ἀγών

[1] διὰ λόγου] μετὰ λόγου Arnim, δίχα ψόγου Geel.
[2] After τῶν Arnim adds μὲν.
[3] καίτοι Crosby : καὶ.
[4] After μέγας Arnim adds ὁ.

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[1] For the Greeks, admonition was not confined to mere words. Cf. Aristophanes, *Wasps* 254-255 :

> εἰ νὴ Δί' αὖθις κονδύλοις νουθετήσεθ' ἡμᾶς,
> ἀποσβέσαντες τοὺς λύχνους ἄπιμεν οἴκαδ' αὐτοί—

involve some expenditure of money—whereas you appreciate the greatest things as they deserve. And in fact it is an altogether greater achievement for a man to be really concerned for the city and to show himself well-disposed toward you than it is for him to spend money. Furthermore, while those who admonish, even if only verbally,[1] are hated by most men, but those who delight with flattery are approved to a surprising degree, in your case, on the contrary, he who uses the fullest frankness and reproves those who go astray and tries to bring them to their senses is most admired.

Who, then, could fail to admire the kind of city and administration in which the honours conferred outweigh the efforts made to obtain them, in which he who admonishes with kindly intent is more beloved than he who speaks to flatter, in which the masses are more eager to submit to correction and to be set right than to be courted and to live luxuriously? Or who could fail to be amazed at you and, on the other hand, to congratulate this man on having been chosen by men like you as worthy to hold office here? [2]

And yet I myself see that the task that lies before him with regard to you is a great one. For when an entire city and people voluntarily entrusts itself to a man for instruction and chooses him as supervisor of its public morals and gives him the supreme authority over temperance and orderliness and the right conduct of the individual, is that man not confronted by

By Zeus, if you admonish us again with your knuckles, we'll douse our lamps and go back home by ourselves.

[2] The title of the post to which he is being appointed is not given.

ἐστιν, ὥστε μηδὲν[1] ἐλάττονι φανῆναι τῆς ὑμετέρας γνώμης; σκόπει δέ, ἵνα εἰδῇς, ὅτι μηδὲ τῶν παλαιῶν μηδεὶς μηδὲ τῶν θαυμαζομένων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου τηλικαύτης τιμῆς παρὰ τῶν πολι-
7 τῶν τῶν[2] αὐτοῦ τετύχηκεν. ὁ γοῦν[3] Περικλῆς ἐκεῖνος, ὃν ἀκούομεν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀκμαζούσης γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως, στρατηγίας μὲν ἐτύγχανεν· οὐ μὴν ἄξιος ἔδοξε· διὰ παντὸς ἄρχειν τοῦ χρόνου[4] . . . καὶ ταύτην οὐκ ἀργύριον διοικῶν οὐδὲ οἰκοδομημάτων ἐπιμελούμενος, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν ἀγαθοὶ ὦσιν οἱ πολῖται, καὶ νουθετεῖν ἠβούλετο τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας καὶ τὸ γοῦν καθ' αὑτὸν βελτίονας ποιεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἠνείχοντο αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν αὑτῶν[5]
8 ἀναγωγίαν οἱ τότε. πόσῳ δὴ[6] κρείττους ὑμεῖς οἱ παραδιδόντες αὐτοὺς καὶ παιδεύειν κελεύοντες τῶν εἰ καί τις παρ' αὐτοῦ πρόθυμος ἦν τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἀγανακτούντων καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐ τιμώντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποκτεινάντων τὸν ἐπιμελούμενον[7] ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι Σωκράτην.

Ποῖον οὖν ἔτι κάλλιον ἐγκώμιον ἢ τοῦδε ἢ ὑμῶν εἴποι τις ἄν; οἵ γε ἐπειδὴ ᾔσθεσθε τοὺς ἐφήβους

[1] μηδὲν Reiske : μηδενὶ. [2] τῶν added by Pflugk.
[3] γοῦν Selden : οὖν or νῦν.
[4] Emperius noted the lacuna at this point.
[5] αὑτῶν Dindorf : αὐτῶν.
[6] πόσῳ δὴ Emperius: δὴ πόσῳ M, πόσῳ δὲ UB.
[7] ἐπιμελούμενον Selden, ἐπιβαλλόμενον Emperius : ἐπικαλούμενον.

[1] Pericles must have been *strategus* most of the time from his rise to power in 462–461 B.C. until his death in 429 B.C. Yet he was often subjected to bitter attack, and in the very year before his death he was deposed from office and tried for embezzlement, though later restored.

a mighty task, the task of not being found in any way inferior to your opinion of him? But, that you may recognize the truth of what I say, observe that not one of the men of old, not even of those who have always been admired, has gained from his fellow citizens such honour as you have now bestowed. For instance the illustrious Pericles—who, we are told, flourished at Athens when the city was in its prime—though he repeatedly obtained the post of general, was not deemed worthy of holding office all the time.[1] [But Socrates . . .] [2] and that too, not as an administrator of funds nor as one concerned with buildings,[3] but rather with the purpose of making his fellow citizens good men—chose both to admonish the erring ones and, at least so far as lay in his power, to make them better. Yet the men of that day did not tolerate him, because of their own lack of discipline.[4] How far superior, then, are you, who submit yourselves to instruction, yes, even demand it, to those who were irritated even if some one of his own accord was eager to do this for them, and who not merely refrained from honouring, but even put to death the man who tried to take them under his care, as the Athenians did in the case of Socrates!

Accordingly, what more beautiful eulogy could any one pronounce, either of this man or of yourselves? For since you have seen that he has improved

[2] By way of filling out the lacuna, Capps suggests some such phrase as ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης δόξαν μεγίστην ἔλαβεν.

[3] The treasury of the Delian Confederacy was removed to Athens in 454 B.C., and there began for Pericles a period of most active building operations, the most notable buildings to his credit being the Parthenon and the Propylaea.

[4] Dio is alluding to the condemnation and execution of Socrates in 399 B.C.

καὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους κρείττονας πεποιηκότα, εὐθὺς ἡγεῖσθε καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀμείνους δύνασθαι ποιεῖν. καὶ νὴ Δία γε οὐχὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐφήβοις ἐστὶ παιδείας καὶ ἀρετῆς χρεία, τοῖς δὲ προβεβηκόσιν οὒ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πόλει· ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἰατρὸς τοῖς μὲν παισὶν ἢ τοῖς μειρακίοις χρείαν εἶναι θεραπείας νομίζοι, τοῖς
9 δὲ τελείοις μή. καὶ μὴν ἥ γε πρὸς τὰς τιμὰς μεγαλοψυχία πῶς οὐχὶ θαυμαστὴ[1] τῆς πόλεως; τί[2] γὰρ τῶν σεμνῶν οὐχὶ προθύμως[3] παρεσχήκατε; οὐκ εἰκόνας; οὐκ ἀνδριάντας; οὐχὶ πρεσβεύοντας[4] πρὸς τὰς πόλεις, πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα; οὐ κοινῇ τιμῶντες;[5] οὐ κατ' ἰδίαν ἕκαστος δεξιούμενος; τίς[6] οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἡσθείη[7] τούτων[8] τοιούτων ὄντων;[9] ἢ τίς οὐκ ἂν προθυμοῖτο ὅ τι δύναιτο ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀγαθόν; οὐκοῦν ἔγωγε οἶμαι καὶ τὸν τοῦδε ἔπαινον ὡς ἠδυνάμην εἰρηκέναι. τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀποδεχομένων τινὰ καὶ τιμώντων ἐγκώμιον δῆλον ὡς κάλλιστος ἔπαινος ἐκείνου ἂν εἴη.

[1] θαυμαστὴ Pflugk : θαυμαστῆς.
[2] τί Casaubon : τίνι.
[3] προθύμως Casaubon : προθυμίας.
[4] πρεσβεύοντας] πρεσβεύοντες Reiske.
[5] τιμῶντες Casaubon : τιμῶντας.
[6] Before τίς Pflugk reads ἃ for MS. ἥ, which Arnim deletes.
[7] οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἡσθείη Crosby, ἂν οὐκ ἀνεθείη Pflugk, οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἀθλοίη Arnim : ἂν ἡσθείη UBT, ἀνεθείη M.

the ephebes and the young men, you immediately jump to the conclusion that he can improve you too. And, by Heaven, it is not true that, while the ephebes have need of instruction and virtue, those who are advanced in years, and in fact the entire city, do not. That would be just as if some physician were to think that boys or young men had need of medical attention, but not the adults. Yet must we not concede that in the matter of honours the city's magnanimity is surprising? For what mark of highest esteem have you not eagerly conferred? Have you not voted portraits, statues, embassies to the cities and to the Emperor?[1] Have you not shown honour by public recognition; have you not shown honour by individual greeting? Therefore what man would not be pleased when these rewards are so distinguished? Or what man would not be eager to do you any service in his power? Well then, I at least believe I have spoken in praise of this man too as effectively as I could; for the eulogy directed toward those who approve and honour a man clearly would be that man's highest praise.

[1] Dio obviously refers to the honour of serving on such embassies. The MS. reading should be retained.

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[8] τούτων Capps : τῶν.
[9] ὄντων] διδόντων Pflugk.

THE FIFTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: ON AESCHYLUS AND SOPHOCLES AND EURIPIDES OR THE BOW OF PHILOCTETES

This Discourse is not merely an interesting bit of ancient literary criticism but also our chief source of information as to two of the three plays with which it deals, the *Philoctetes* of Aeschylus and that of Euripides, both known to-day only in scanty fragments. In Or. 59 Dio presents in prose paraphrase the prologue of a *Philoctetes*, which by means of the present Discourse is recognized as that of Euripides, together with a portion of the ensuing dialogue between Odysseus and Philoctetes. The Euripidean play clearly appealed to Dio's rhetorical instincts; yet we are reminded of the situation in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, the god of the drama yielding the palm to Aeschylus, though unmistakably prejudiced in favour of Euripides.

There was little occasion for Homer to refer to Philoctetes, whom he names in only three passages. His most illuminating reference is *Iliad* 2. 716-726, from which we learn that Homer at least knew the story. Fuller details were obtainable from three epics belonging to what is known as the Cycle—the *Cypria*, the *Little Iliad*, and the *Iliupersis*. The high points in the epic version are as follows. Heracles, out of gratitude for services rendered, had given Philoctetes his bow and arrows, once the property of Apollo. When the Greeks sailed for Troy, Philoctetes guided them to the island of Chrysê, where they were to offer sacrifice. There a venomous serpent bit Philoctetes on the foot. His cries of anguish and the stench of his wound caused the Greeks to abandon him on the shores of Lemnos. Ten years later, when the

Greek fortunes were at a low ebb, upon the advice of the seer Calchas and by the stratagem of Odysseus the Trojan seer Helenus was taken captive. He revealed that Troy could be taken only with the aid of Philoctetes and his bow, and that Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, must come from Scyros. Accordingly Diomedes is sent for Philoctetes and Odysseus for Neoptolemus. Philoctetes is healed of his wound, slays Paris, and in company with Neoptolemus causes the downfall of Troy. For further details the reader is referred to the introduction to Jebb's edition of the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles.

The occasion on which our Discourse was delivered is unknown. Dio's reference to the chill of morning might suggest his home in Prusa as the setting for his adventure in dramatic criticism. His allusion to ill health and his manifest sympathy for the lonely Philoctetes, victim of misfortune, suggest the period subsequent to Dio's exile as the time of composition.

52. ΠΕΡΙ ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΚΤΗΤΟΥ ΤΟΞΩΝ

1 Ἀναστὰς σχεδόν τι περὶ πρώτην ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν τοῦ σώματος καὶ διὰ τὸν ἀέρα ψυχρότερον ὄντα διὰ τὴν ἕω καὶ μάλιστα μετοπώρῳ προσεοικότα καίτοι μεσοῦντος θέρους, ἐπεμελήθην ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ προσηυξάμην. ἔπειτα ἀνέβην ἐπὶ τὸ ζεῦγος καὶ περιῆλθον ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ πολλούς τινας κύκλους, πρᾴως τε καὶ ἀλύπως ὡς οἷόν τε ὑπάγοντος τοῦ ζεύγους. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα περιπατήσας ἀνεπαυσάμην μικρόν τινα χρόνον. ἔπειτα ἀλειψάμενος καὶ λουσάμενος καὶ μικρὸν ἐμφαγὼν ἐνέτυχον τραγῳδίαις τισίν.

2 Σχεδὸν δὲ ἦσαν ἄκρων ἀνδρῶν, Αἰσχύλου καὶ Σοφοκλέους καὶ Εὐριπίδου, πάντων περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν. ἦν γὰρ ἡ τῶν Φιλοκτήτου τόξων εἴτε κλοπὴ εἴτε ἁρπαγὴ[1] δεῖ λέγειν· πλὴν ἀφαιρούμενός γε τῶν ὅπλων ἦν Φιλοκτήτης ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Τροίαν ἀναγόμενος, τὸ μὲν πλέον ἑκών,[2] τὸ δέ τι καὶ πειθοῖ ἀναγκαίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ὅπλων ἐστέρητο, ἃ τοῦτο μὲν βίον αὐτῷ παρεῖχεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, τοῦτο δὲ θάρσος ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ νόσῳ, ἅμα δὲ εὔκλειαν.

[1] ἁρπαγὴ] παγὴν Morel. [2] ἑκὼν Welcker: ἄκων.

THE FIFTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: ON AESCHYLUS AND SOPHOCLES AND EURIPIDES OR THE BOW OF PHILOCTETES

Having risen about the first hour of the day, both on account of the feeble state of my health and also on account of the air, which was rather chilly because of the early hour and very much like autumn, though it was mid-summer, I made my toilet and performed my devotions. I next got into my carriage and made the round of the race-course several times, my team moving along as gently and comfortably as possible. After that I took a stroll and then rested a bit. Next, after a rub-down and bath and a light breakfast, I fell to reading certain tragedies.

These tragedies were the work of topmost artists, I may say, Aeschylus and Sophocles and Euripides, all dealing with the same theme, which was the theft —or should I say the seizure?—of the bow of Philoctetes. However that may be, Philoctetes was portrayed as being deprived of his weapons by Odysseus and as being carried off to Troy along with them, for the most part willingly, though in some measure also yielding to the persuasion of necessity, since he had been deprived of the weapons which furnished him with not only a living on his island, but courage in his sore affliction, and at the same time fame.

3 Οὐκοῦν εὐωχούμην τῆς θέας καὶ ἐλογιζόμην πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ὅτι τότε Ἀθήνησιν ὢν οὐχ οἷός τ' ἂν ἦν μετασχεῖν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων ἀνταγωνιζομένων, ἀλλὰ Σοφοκλέους μὲν πρὸς Αἰσχύλον νέου πρὸς γέροντα, καὶ πρὸς Εὐριπίδην πρεσβυτέρου πρὸς νεώτερον ἀγωνιζομένου μετέσχον τινές· Εὐριπίδης δ' ἀπελείφθη κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν Αἰσχύλου· καὶ ἅμα οὐ πολλάκις ἴσως ἢ οὐδέποτε τῷ αὐτῷ δράματι ἀντηγωνίσαντο. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐφαινόμην ἐμαυτῷ πάνυ τρυφᾶν καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας παραμυθίαν καινὴν ἔχειν.
4 οὐκοῦν ἐχορήγουν ἐμαυτῷ πάνυ λαμπρῶς καὶ προσέχειν ἐπειρώμην, ὥσπερ δικαστὴς τῶν πρώτων τραγικῶν χορῶν.

Πλὴν ὀμόσας γε οὐκ ἂν ἐδυνάμην ἀποφήνασθαι οὐδέν, οὗ[1] γε ἕνεκεν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἡττήθη τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων. ἥ τε γὰρ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου μεγαλοφροσύνη καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἔτι δὲ τὸ αὔθαδες τῆς διανοίας καὶ φράσεως, πρέποντα ἐφαίνετο τραγῳδίᾳ καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἤθεσι τῶν ἡρώων, οὐδ' ἐνῆν τι[2] βεβουλευ-
5 μένον[3] οὐδὲ στωμύλον οὐδὲ ταπεινόν· ἐπεί τοι καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα εἰσῆγε δριμὺν καὶ δόλιον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς τότε, πολὺ δὲ ἀπέχοντα τῆς νῦν κακοηθείας, ὥστε

[1] οὗ] οὐδ' ἐμοῦ Arnim.
[2] οὐδ' ἐνῆν τι Capps, οὐδὲν ἔχοντα Hermann, ὢν οὐδὲν Reiske : οὐδέν.
[3] βεβουλευμένον Crosby : ἐπιβεβουλευμένον.

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[1] At Athens plays were regularly produced in competition.
[2] Aeschylus was born in 525 B.C. and died soon after 458 ; Sophocles in 468 at the age of 28 defeated Aeschylus, but lived until 405 ; Euripides began his career in 455, after Aeschylus had died, and lived until 406.
[3] The duty of the choregus was to provide the funds needed by the choruses of the particular poet to whom he had been assigned.

So I was feasting my eyes on the spectacle portrayed by these dramas and figuring to myself that, even if I had been in Athens in those days, I could not have witnessed such a contest as this of those distinguished poets.[1] On the contrary, while there were some who did witness contests between the youthful Sophocles and the aged Aeschylus and some who saw the older Sophocles compete with Euripides, his junior, yet the career of Euripides fell quite outside the period of Aeschylus[2]; and besides, probably the tragic poets seldom or never competed against one another with plays on the same theme. And so I was evidently having a rare treat and a novel solace for my illness. Accordingly, I played choregus [3] for myself in very brilliant style and tried to pay close attention, as if I were a judge passing judgement on the premier tragic choruses.[4]

Yet I could not on oath have produced a single reason why any one of those great poets could have been defeated. For both the nobility of character and the antique flavour of Aeschylus, as well as the ruggedness of his thought and diction, seemed suited to tragedy and to the old-time manners of the heroes,[5] nor was there aught of premeditation or prating or humility in their bearing. For example, even his Odysseus he brought upon the scene as a shrewd and crafty person,[6] as men were in those days, yet far removed from the rascality of to-day, in consequence

[4] Ten citizens were appointed for each festival at which plays were produced to judge the contests and to award the prize.

[5] I.e., the old Greek demigods, whose fortunes provided the material for the tragedies.

[6] Homer constantly calls Odysseus πολύτροπος.

τῷ ὄντι ἀρχαῖον ἂν δόξαι παρὰ τοὺς νῦν ἁπλοῦς εἶναι βουλομένους καὶ μεγαλόφρονας. καὶ οὐδέν γε ἀλλαττούσης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς προσεδεήθη πρὸς τὸ μὴ γνωσθῆναι ὅστις ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλοκτήτου, καθάπερ Ὅμηρος κἀκείνῳ δὴ ἑπόμενος Εὐριπίδης ἐποίησεν[1]· ὥστε τυχὸν ἄν τις ἐγκαλέσαι τῶν οὐ φιλούντων τὸν ἄνδρα, ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἐμέλησεν ὅπως πιθανὸς ἔσται ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς οὐ γιγνωσκό-
6 μενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλοκτήτου. ἔχοι δ' ἂν ἀπολογίαν, ὡς ἐγῷμαι, πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ χρόνος τυχὸν οὐκ[2] ἦν τοσοῦτος, ὥστε μὴ ἀνενεγκεῖν τὸν χαρακτῆρα, δέκα ἐτῶν διαγεγονότων, ἡ δὲ νόσος ἡ τοῦ Φιλοκτήτου καὶ κάκωσις καὶ τὸ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ βεβιωκέναι τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον οὐκ ἀδύνατον τοῦτο ἐποίει. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἤδη, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ δυστυχίας, ἔπαθον αὐτό.

Καὶ μὴν ὁ χορὸς αὐτῷ παραιτήσεως, ὥσπερ ὁ
7 τοῦ Εὐριπίδου, οὐδὲν ἐδεήθη. ἄμφω γὰρ ἐκ τῶν Λημνίων ἐποίησαν τὸν χορόν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Εὐριπίδης εὐθὺς ἀπολογουμένους πεποίηκε περὶ τῆς πρότερον ἀμελείας, ὅτι δὴ τοσούτων ἐτῶν οὔτε προσέλθοιεν πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτήτην οὔτε βοηθήσειαν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ· ὁ δ' Αἰσχύλος ἁπλῶς εἰσήγαγε τὸν χορόν, ὃ τῷ παντὶ[3] τραγικώτερον καὶ ἁπλούστερον· τὸ δ' ἕτερον πολιτικώτερον καὶ ἀκριβέστερον. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐδύναντο πάσας διαφεύγειν τὰς ἀλογίας ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις, ἴσως ἂν εἶχε λόγον μηδὲ τοῦτο

[1] ἐποίησεν deleted by Arnim with UBM.
[2] οὐκ deleted by Wyttenbach.
[3] χορόν, ὃ τῷ παντὶ Emperius : χορὸν αὐτῷ πάνυ.

of which he might seem truly ancient as compared with those who to-day lay claim to simplicity and nobility of character. And again, Aeschylus had no need to add Athena for the purpose of transforming Odysseus so as not to be recognized by Philoctetes for the man he was, as Homer handled the problem,[1] and also Euripides in imitation of Homer. So possibly one of those who do not like Aeschylus might complain that he was not at all concerned to make his Odysseus convincing in the scene where he is not recognized by Philoctetes. But in my opinion the poet would have a defence against such a criticism; for while the lapse of time was perhaps not sufficient to explain his not recalling the lineaments of Odysseus since only ten years had passed, yet the affliction and distress of Philoctetes and the lonely life he had led in the interval made this lapse of memory not impossible. For many in the past, either from illness or from misfortune, have had that experience.

Furthermore, the chorus of Aeschylus had no need for special pleading, as did that of Euripides. For both poets made their choruses to consist of Lemnians; yet, while Euripides has represented them as immediately apologizing for their former neglect, admitting that during so many years they had neither come near Philoctetes nor rendered him any aid, Aeschylus simply brought his chorus on the scene, a course which is altogether more in keeping with tragedy and more natural, whereas the other course is more courteous and more strictly correct. Of course, if poets were able to avoid all violations of logic in their tragedies, perhaps there might be reason for

[1] In the *Odyssey* (13. 429-438) Athena disguises Odysseus as a beggar upon his arrival in Ithaca.

παραπέμψαι· νῦν δὲ πολλάκις ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ παραγιγνομένους ποιοῦσι τοὺς κήρυκας πλειόνων ἡμερῶν
8 ὁδόν. ἔπειτα οὐδ' ἁπάντως ἐξῆν[1] μήτε[2] προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ μηδένα Λημνίων μήτε[3] ἐπιμεληθῆναι μηδέν· δοκεῖ γάρ μοι οὐδ' ἂν διεγένετο τὰ δέκα ἔτη μηδεμιᾶς τυγχάνων βοηθείας· ἀλλ' εἰκὸς μὲν τυγχάνειν αὐτόν, σπανίως δὲ καὶ οὐδενὸς μεγάλου, καὶ μηδένα αἱρεῖσθαι οἰκίᾳ ὑποδέξασθαι καὶ νοσηλεύειν διὰ τὴν δυσχέρειαν τῆς νόσου. αὐτὸς γοῦν ὁ Εὐριπίδης τὸν Ἄκτορα εἰσάγει, ἕνα Λημνίων, ὡς γνώριμον τῷ Φιλοκτήτῃ προσιόντα καὶ πολλάκις συμβεβληκότα.

9 Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο δοκεῖ μοι δικαίως ἄν τις αἰτιάσασθαι, τὸ διηγεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν χορὸν ὡς ἀγνοοῦντα τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀπόλειψιν τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὰ καθόλου συμβαίνοντα αὐτῷ. οἱ γὰρ δυστυχοῦντες ἄνθρωποι πολλάκις εἰώθασι μεμνῆσθαι τῶν συμφορῶν καὶ τοῖς εἰδόσιν ἀκριβῶς καὶ μηδὲν δεομένοις ἀκούειν ἐνοχλοῦσιν ἀεὶ διηγούμενοι. καὶ μὴν ἡ ἀπάτη ἡ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτήτην καὶ οἱ λόγοι δι' ὧν προσηγάγετο αὐτόν, οὐ μόνον εὐσχημονέστεροι καὶ[4] ἥρωι πρέποντες, ἀλλ' οὐκ Εὐρυβάτου ἢ Παταικίωνος, ἀλλ', ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσι,
10 καὶ πιθανώτεροι. τί γὰρ ἔδει[5] ποικίλης τέχνης καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς πρὸς ἄνδρα νοσοῦντα, καὶ ταῦτα τοξό-

[1] οὐδ' ἁπάντως ἐξῆν Capps : οὐδὲ ἐξ ἅπαντος ἦν.
[2] μήτε Emperius : μηδὲ. [3] μήτε Emperius : μηδὲ.
[4] καὶ omitted by Arnim with UBM.
[5] ἔδει Emperius : δεῖ or δή.

[1] In the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus not only the herald but even Agamemnon himself and his escort arrive in Argos the day following the fall of Troy.

refusing to gloss over even this instance; but as the truth is, the poets often cause their heralds to complete in a single day a journey which calls for several days.[1] Again, it was quite impossible to conceive that not a single Lemnian had come near Philoctetes or given him any attention at all, for in my opinion he could not even have survived those ten years without receiving some aid; no, it is reasonable to suppose that he did get some aid, though but rarely and of no great importance, and, furthermore, that no one chose to take him into his house and give him medical attention because of the disgusting nature of his ailment.[2] At any rate Euripides himself does bring upon the scene one Lemnian, Actor, who approaches Philoctetes as being already known to him and as having often met him.

Furthermore, I do not feel that one could justly find fault with Aeschylus for this either—that his hero narrates to the chorus, as if they were in ignorance, the details concerning his desertion by the Achaeans and his experiences in general. The reason is that the victims of misfortune are wont to recall their trials repeatedly, and by their constant rehearsing of details they bore those who know every detail already and have no need to be told. Then again, the deception which Odysseus practised upon Philoctetes and the arguments by which he won him over are not merely more becoming and suited to a hero—though not the words of a Eurybates or a Pataecion[3]—but in my opinion they are even more plausible. For what need was there for subtle craft and scheming in dealing with a sick man and, what is more, an

[2] Cf. Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 900.
[3] Stock characters typifying rascality.

την, ᾧ εἴ τις μόνον ἐγγὺς παρέστη, ἀχρεῖος ἡ ἀλκὴ αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει; καὶ τὸ ἀπαγγέλλειν δὲ τὰς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συμφορὰς καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τεθνηκότα καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ ὄντα[1] ὡς οἷόν τε αἰσχίστῃ καὶ καθόλου τὸ στράτευμα διεφθαρμένον οὐ μόνον χρήσιμον, ὥστε εὐφρᾶναι[2] τὸν Φιλοκτήτην καὶ προσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον τὴν τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ὁμιλίαν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀπίθανον[3] τρόπον τινὰ διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῆς στρατείας καὶ διὰ τὰ συμβεβηκότα οὐ πάλαι κατὰ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, ὅθ' Ἕκτωρ παρὰ σμικρὸν ἦλθεν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸν ναύσταθμον.

11 Ἥ τε τοῦ Εὐριπίδου σύνεσις καὶ περὶ πάντα ἐπιμέλεια, ὥστε μήτε ἀπίθανόν τι καὶ παρημελημένον ἐᾶσαι μήτε ἁπλῶς τοῖς πράγμασι χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πάσης ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν δυνάμεως, ὥσπερ ἀντίστροφός ἐστι τῇ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου,[4] πολιτικωτάτη καὶ ῥητορικωτάτη οὖσα καὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι πλείστην ὠφέλειαν παρασχεῖν δυναμένη. εὐθὺς γοῦν πεποίηται προλογίζων αὐτῷ ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ[5] ἄλλα τε ἐνθυμήματα πολιτικὰ στρέφων ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ πρῶτόν γε διαπορῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἄρα δοκῇ μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς σοφός τις εἶναι καὶ διαφέρων τὴν
12 σύνεσιν, ᾖ δὲ τοὐναντίον. ἐξὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀλύπως

[1] ὄντα added by Capps.
[2] εὐφρᾶναι] εὐφρανθῆναι Gasda.
[3] ἀπίθανον Crosby : ἀπίθανα.
[4] After Αἰσχύλου Capps (cf. infra § 15 τὸ αὔθαδες καὶ ἁπλοῦν) adds αὐθαδίᾳ, Reiske ἁπλότητι.
[5] καὶ deleted by Wilamowitz.

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[1] We do not know what particular charge was trumped

archer, whose means of defence had lost its power the moment you merely got close to him? Besides, the device of having Odysseus report that the Achaeans had met with disaster, that Agamemnon had died, that Odysseus had been charged with an act that was utterly disgraceful,[1] and that in general the expedition had gone to rack and ruin, was not merely serviceable toward cheering Philoctetes and making the discourse of Odysseus more acceptable; no, in a way it was not without plausibility even, because of the length of the campaign and because of what had happened not so long before in consequence of the wrath of Achilles, at the time when Hector barely missed burning the naval station.[2]

Again, the sagacity of Euripides and his careful attention to every detail, as a result of which not only does he not tolerate anything which lacks plausibility or is marred by carelessness, but also he handles the action, not in artless style, but with entire mastery in the telling—all this forms, as it were, an antithesis to the nature of Aeschylus, being to a high degree characteristic of the citizen and the orator and capable of proving most useful to those who read him. At the very outset of Euripides' play, for instance, Odysseus is introduced as speaker of the prologue and as not only inwardly debating questions of civic nature in general, but first and foremost expressing embarrassment on his own account, lest, while generally reputed to be wise and distinguished for sagacity, he may really be the opposite. For, though he might live free from care and trouble, he is ever being

up; of course the whole tale was a fiction intended to beguile Philoctetes.

[2] *Iliad* 15. 592-746.

καὶ ἀπραγμόνως ζῆν, ὁ δὲ ἑκὼν ἀεὶ ἐν πράγμασι καὶ κινδύνοις γίγνεται. τούτου δέ φησιν αἴτιον εἶναι τὴν τῶν εὐφυῶν καὶ γενναίων ἀνδρῶν φιλοτιμίαν. δόξης γὰρ ἀγαθῆς ἐφιέμενοι καὶ τοῦ εὐκλεεῖς παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι μεγίστους καὶ χαλεπωτάτους ἑκόντες πόνους ὑφίστανται·

οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω γαῦρον ὡς ἀνὴρ ἔφυ.

Ἔπειτα σαφῶς καὶ ἀκριβῶς δηλοῖ τὴν τοῦ δράματος ὑπόθεσιν καὶ οὗ ἕνεκεν ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τὴν
13 Λῆμνον. φησί τε ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἠλλοιῶσθαι, ὥστε ἐντυχόντα τῷ Φιλοκτήτῃ μὴ γνωσθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, μιμησάμενος κατὰ τοῦτο Ὅμηρον. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῷ Εὐμαίῳ καὶ τῇ Πηνελόπῃ πεποίηκεν ἐντυγχάνοντα τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἠλλοιωμένον ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. φησί τε πρεσβείαν μέλλειν παρὰ τῶν Τρώων ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτήτην, δεησομένην αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐκείνοις παρασχεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Τροίας βασιλείᾳ,[1] ποικιλώτερον τὸ δρᾶμα κατασκευάζων καὶ ἀνευρίσκων λόγων ἀφορμάς, καθ' ἃς εἰς τὰ ἐναντία ἐπιχειρῶν εὐπορώτατος καὶ παρ' ὁντινοῦν ἱκανώ-
14 τατος φαίνεται. οὐ μόνον δὲ[2] πεποίηκε τὸν Ὀδυσσέα παραγιγνόμενον, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ Διομήδους, ὁμηρικῶς καὶ τοῦτο. καὶ τὸ ὅλον, ὡς ἔφην, δι' ὅλου τοῦ δράματος πλείστην μὲν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι[3] σύνεσιν καὶ πιθανότητα ἐπιδείκνυται, ἀμήχανον δὲ καὶ θαυμαστὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις δύναμιν, καὶ τά τε

[1] βασιλείᾳ] ἁλώσει Herwerden.
[2] δὲ deleted by Arnim.
[3] πράγμασι Valckenaer : δράμασι.

[1] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, frag. 788.

involved in troubles and perils of his own volition. But the cause of this, he claims, is the ambition which actuates gifted men of noble birth. For, in aiming at a fine reputation and general acclaim, they voluntarily undertake very great and difficult labours.

For nothing quite so proud as man exists.[1]

Odysseus then reveals clearly and precisely the plot of the drama and why he has come to Lemnos. And he says he has been disguised by Athena, so that when he meets Philoctetes he may not be recognized by him, Euripides having imitated Homer in this detail.[2] For Homer has represented Odysseus, in his sundry encounters with Eumaeus and Penelopê and the others, as having been disguised by Athena. Odysseus goes on to say that an embassy from the Trojans will soon visit Philoctetes for the purpose of entreating him to place at their disposal both himself and his weapons, offering the throne of Troy as his reward; thus he complicates the plot and invents occasions for debate, in the course of which he shows himself most resourceful and most proficient in combating the opposing arguments, no matter with whom he is compared.[3] Again, Euripides causes Odysseus to arrive not unattended but in company with Diomedes, another Homeric touch.[4] Thus all in all, as I was saying, throughout the whole play he displays the greatest dexterity and plausibility in the action; an irresistible, yes, amazing, power of language; a

[2] Cf. § 5.

[3] Up to this point there is close agreement between this summary and the synopsis of Or. 59. The latter, however, does not cover the entrance of Diomedes.

[4] Dio must mean Homeric in spirit, for Homer does not treat this episode. Cf. § 13.

ἰαμβεῖα σαφῶς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ πολιτικῶς ἔχοντα, καὶ τὰ μέλη οὐ μόνον ἡδονήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὴν πρὸς ἀρετὴν παράκλησιν.

15 Ὅ τε Σοφοκλῆς μέσος ἔοικεν ἀμφοῖν εἶναι, οὔτε τὸ αὔθαδες καὶ ἁπλοῦν τὸ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου ἔχων οὔτε τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ δριμὺ καὶ πολιτικὸν τὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου, σεμνὴν δέ τινα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ ποίησιν τραγικώτατα καὶ εὐεπέστατα ἔχουσαν, ὥστε πλείστην εἶναι ἡδονὴν μετὰ ὕψους καὶ σεμνότητος. τῇ τε διασκευῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀρίστῃ καὶ πιθανωτάτῃ κέχρηται, ποιήσας τὸν Ὀδυσσέα μετὰ Νεοπτολέμου παραγιγνόμενον, ἐπειδὴ εἵμαρτο ἁλῶναι τὴν Τροίαν ὑπό τε τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου καὶ τοῦ Φιλοκτήτου χρωμένου τοῖς Ἡρακλείοις τόξοις, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν ἀποκρυπτόμενον, τὸν δὲ Νεοπτόλεμον πέμποντα πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτήτην, ὑποτιθέμενον αὐτῷ ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν. καὶ τὸν χορὸν οὐχ ὥσπερ ὁ Αἰσχύλος καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐκ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πεποίηκεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ νηὶ συμπλεόντων τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ καὶ τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ.

16 Τά τε ἤθη θαυμαστῶς σεμνὰ καὶ ἐλευθέρια, τό τε τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως πολὺ πρᾳότερον καὶ ἁπλούστερον ἢ πεποίηκεν ὁ Εὐριπίδης, τό τε τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου ὑπερβάλλον ἁπλότητι καὶ εὐγενείᾳ, πρῶτον μὲν μὴ βουλομένου δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ περιγενέσθαι τοῦ Φιλοκτήτου, ἀλλὰ ἰσχύϊ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ· ἔπειτα πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ ἐξαπατήσας αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν τόξων ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος, αἰσθομένου ἐκείνου καὶ ὡς ἐξηπατημένου σχετλιάζοντος καὶ

dialogue that is clear and natural and urbane; and lyrics that not only are delightful but also contain a strong incentive toward virtue.

As for Sophocles, he seems to stand midway between the two others, since he has neither the ruggedness and simplicity of Aeschylus nor the precision and shrewdness and urbanity of Euripides, yet he produces a poetry that is august and majestic, highly tragic and euphonious in its phrasing, so that there is the fullest pleasure coupled with sublimity and stateliness. In his management of the action he is most excellent and convincing; for instance, he causes Odysseus to arrive in company with Neoptolemus—since it was ordained that Troy should be taken by Neoptolemus and Philoctetes together, Philoctetes wielding the bow of Heracles—and he makes Odysseus conceal himself but send Neoptolemus to Philoctetes, suggesting to him what he must do. Furthermore, he has composed his chorus, not of the natives of Lemnos, as Aeschylus and Euripides do, but of those who sailed in the ship along with Odysseus and Neoptolemus.

Again, as Sophocles portrays them, the characters in the drama are wonderfully dignified and noble, his Odysseus being much more gentle and frank than Euripides has depicted him, and his Neoptolemus surpassing all in artlessness and good breeding—at first he aims to get the better of Philoctetes, not by craft and deception, but by strength and without disguise; then, after he has been prevailed upon by Odysseus and has tricked Philoctetes and gained possession of the bow, when Philoctetes becomes aware of what has happened, is indignant at the deception which has been practised upon him, and

ἀπαιτοῦντος τὰ ὅπλα, οὐ κατέχει, ἀλλ᾽ οἷός τέ ἐστιν ἀποδιδόναι αὐτά, καίτοι τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ἐπιφανέντος καὶ διακωλύοντος, καὶ τέλος δίδωσιν αὐτά· δοὺς δὲ τῷ λόγῳ πειρᾶται πείθειν ἑκόντα
17 ἀκολουθῆσαι εἰς τὴν Τροίαν. τοῦ δὲ Φιλοκτήτου μηδένα τρόπον εἴκοντος μηδὲ πειθομένου, ἀλλὰ δεομένου τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου, ὥσπερ ὑπέσχετο, ἀπαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ ἕτοιμός ἐστι ποιεῖν τοῦτο, μέχρι ἐπιφανεὶς Ἡρακλῆς πείθει τὸν Φιλοκτήτην ἑκόντα εἰς τὴν Τροίαν πλεῦσαι.

Τά τε μέλη οὐκ ἔχει πολὺ τὸ γνωμικὸν οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀρετὴν παράκλησιν, ὥσπερ τὰ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου, ἡδονὴν δὲ θαυμαστὴν καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν, ὥστε μὴ εἰκῇ τοιαῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην εἰρηκέναι·

ὁ δ᾽ αὖ Σοφοκλέους τοῦ μέλιτι κεχρισμένου
ὥσπερ καδίσκου περιέλειχε τὸ στόμα.

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[1] An instance of the *deus ex machina*, so familiar in the plays of Euripides but not unknown in the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles also. It is to be borne in mind that the dramatic contest was a religious festival. The audience must have enjoyed such theophanies.

demands the return of his weapons. Neoptolemus does not try to retain possession of them but is prepared to return them—though Odysseus appears on the scene and tries to prevent this—and he finally does return them: yet after he has handed them over he tries by argument to persuade Philoctetes to accompany him voluntarily to Troy. But when Philoctetes will by no means yield or be persuaded, but entreats Neoptolemus to take him back to Greece, as he had promised to do, Neoptolemus once more gives his promise, and he is prepared to keep his word, until Heracles comes upon the scene and persuades Philoctetes to sail to Troy of his own free will.[1]

The lyrics of Sophocles do not contain the didactic element to any great extent, nor any incentive to virtue such as we find in the lyrics of Euripides, but a marvellous sweetness and magnificence, such that Aristophanes could say of him not without reason words like these:

> But he in turn the lips of Sophocles,
> With honey smeared, did lick as if a jar.[2]

[2] Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, Aristophanes, frag. 581. The subject of the verb περιέλειχε presumably was Euripides, who is said to have owed to Sophocles his honeyed tongue.

THE FIFTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: ON HOMER

This Discourse, like the one preceding, lies mainly in the field of literary criticism. However, it contains less suggestion of independent judgement, being in the main a cursory survey of what various philosophers have thought and said about Homer. The fundamental importance of Homer in the scheme of Greek education is too well known to require documentation. If we may trust the words of the Greeks of the classic period, they gave little thought to the beauty of his language, prizing him rather as a teacher par excellence. Dio, on the other hand, shows a consciousness of the beauty of his work. That he should have stressed in his appraisal of the poet the views of the philosophers, and above all Plato, was only to be expected. His familiarity with those views points to a relatively late period in his career as the time of composition of our Discourse.

The occasion to which we owe the speech is unknown. In style and theme it would be appropriate as an introduction to some public recitation from Homer. Though we hardly need additional testimony to the enduring fame of Homer, Dio's tribute affords striking testimony to the surprising range of the influence exerted by the poet (§§ 6-8). Somewhat similar testimony is afforded by Or. 36. 9-14.

53. ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ

1 Ὁ μὲν Δημόκριτος περὶ Ὁμήρου φησὶν οὕτως· Ὅμηρος φύσεως λαχὼν θεαζούσης ἐπέων κόσμον ἐτεκτήνατο παντοίων· ὡς οὐκ ἐνὸν ἄνευ θείας καὶ δαιμονίας φύσεως οὕτως καλὰ καὶ σοφὰ ἔπη ἐργάσασθαι. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι γεγράφασιν οἱ μὲν ἄντικρυς ἐγκωμιάζοντες τὸν ποιητὴν ἅμα καὶ δηλοῦντες ἔνια τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένων, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξηγούμενοι, οὐ μόνον Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Κράτης καὶ ἕτεροι πλείους τῶν ὕστερον γραμματικῶν κληθέντων, πρότερον δὲ κριτικῶν. καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀριστοτέλης, ἀφ' οὗ φασι τὴν κριτικήν τε καὶ γραμματικὴν ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν, ἐν πολλοῖς διαλόγοις περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ διέξεισι, θαυμάζων αὐτὸν ὡς τὸ πολὺ καὶ τιμῶν, ἔτι δὲ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός.

2 Τούτων δὲ πρότερος Πλάτων πανταχοῦ μέμνηται, τὴν μὲν ἡδονὴν καὶ χάριν τὴν τῶν ἐπῶν ἐκπληττόμενος, πολλάκις γε μὴν ἐπιμεμφόμενος ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν μύθοις τε καὶ λόγοις, ὡς οὐ συμ-

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[1] Famous philosopher of the Ionian school. Cf. Diels, *Frag. d. Vorsokr.* I. 394.

[2] Perhaps a reminiscence of Solon. Cf. Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus* (L.C.L.) I. 114.

[3] Distinguished Alexandrine scholar and editor of the works of Homer.

THE FIFTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: ON HOMER

Democritus[1] expresses his opinion of Homer in these words: "Homer, having been blessed with a divinely inspired genius, fashioned an 'ornament of verses'[2] of every kind," thus indicating his belief that without a divine and superhuman nature it is impossible to produce verses of such beauty and wisdom. Many others too have written on this subject, some expressly lauding the poet and at the same time pointing out some of his wise sayings, while others have busied themselves with interpreting the thought itself, this group including not merely Aristarchus[3] and Crates[4] and several others of those who later were called grammarians but formerly critics. In fact Aristotle himself, with whom they say that literary interpretation and criticism began, treats of the poet in many dialogues, admiring him in general and paying him honour, as does also Heracleides of Pontus.[5]

Prior to these, however, Plato mentions Homer at every opportunity, marvelling at the charm and grace of his poesy,[6] though often censuring him in respect of his myths and tales about the gods, holding that he

[4] Head of the Pergamene school and rival of Aristarchus.

[5] Pupil of both Plato and Aristotle.

[6] Cf. *Republic* 595 B–C and 607 A.

φέροντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐδαμῶς αὐτὸν εἰρηκότα, πλεονεξίας καὶ ἐπιβουλὰς κατ' ἀλλήλων καὶ μοιχείας καὶ ἔριδας καὶ φιλονεικίας[1] περὶ θεῶν ἐπεξιόντα· μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οὐ μεταδιδοὺς αὐτῷ τῆς αὑτοῦ πόλεώς τε καὶ πολιτείας σοφῆς, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐνόμιζεν, ἐσομένης, ἵνα μήτε ταῦτα ἀκούωσι περὶ θεῶν νέοι ὄντες οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἀποφαίνει φύλακάς τε καὶ ἡγεμόνας τῆς πόλεως, μηδ' αὖ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου μηδὲν σκυθρωπὸν λεγόμενον μαλακωτέρους αὐτοὺς πρός τε τὸ μάχεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ποιῇ μηδὲ ὥσπερ πώλους κακῶς πωλευθέντας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπόπτους πρὸς τὰ μὴ φοβερά.[2]

3 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἕτερος λόγος πλείων καὶ μακρότερος καὶ οὐ ῥᾴδιος, πότερον Ὅμηρος ἥμαρτε περὶ ταῦτα ἢ φυσικούς τινας ἐνόντας ἐν τοῖς μύθοις λόγους κατὰ τὴν τότε συνήθειαν παρεδίδου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. οὐ γὰρ ῥᾴδιον διαιτῆσαι[3] τὸ τοιοῦτον, καθάπερ, οἶμαι, δύο φίλων ἀνδρῶν, ἀμφοτέρων σεμνῶν, τοῦ ἑτέρου τῷ ἑτέρῳ ἐγκαλοῦντος, ἑνὸς αὐτῶν καταγνῶναι.

4 Γέγραφε δὲ καὶ Ζήνων ὁ φιλόσοφος εἴς τε τὴν Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Μαργίτου δέ· δοκεῖ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ποίημα ὑπὸ Ὁμήρου

[1] φιλονεικίας] φιλονικίας M.
[2] ὑπόπτους . . . φοβερά Selden : ὑπὸ τοὺς πρὸς τὰ μὴ φόρα.
[3] διαιτῆσαι Selden : διαστῆσαι or διαστῆναι.

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[1] *Republic* 378 B–E.
[2] Cf. *Republic* 398 A. Plato's quarrel was with all poetry except hymns and encomia of great men (e.g., *Republic* 607 A).
[3] *Republic* 386–387 C.

has told what was not at all beneficial to mankind when he narrates in detail about the gods instances of greed, of scheming against one another, and of adultery and wrangling and contentiousness.[1] And finally he reaches the point of refusing to admit Homer to partnership in his own state and constitution,[2] which, as he himself believed, was to be founded upon wisdom, his purpose being, not only that those whom he appoints as guardians and leaders of the state should not as boys hear such tales about gods, but also that no melancholy account of conditions in the lower world should cause them to be more faint-hearted in the face of battle and death [3] or, like colts which have been badly broken in, suspicious from the start about things which are not really terrifying.[4]

Regarding these matters there is indeed another theory, which is fuller, longer, and not easy to expound, dealing with the question whether Homer erred in these particulars, or whether he was merely transmitting to mankind certain doctrines about natural phenomena embodied in the myths after the fashion then in vogue.[5] Indeed it is not easy to arbitrate a question like that, just as, in my opinion, it is not easy to decide against one of two men who are your friends, both being worthy of respect, when each makes charges against the other.

But to continue, Zeno [6] the philosopher also has written on both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and, in fact, on the *Margites* [7] too; for he believes that this poem also was composed by Homer at the time when

[4] *Republic* 413 D.
[5] Allegorical interpretation of Homer was fairly common.
[6] Founder of the Stoic school.
[7] A satiric poem no longer extant. Even Aristotle believed it to be the work of Homer (*Poetics* 4. 10).

γεγονέναι νεωτέρου καὶ ἀποπειρωμένου τῆς αὑτοῦ φύσεως πρὸς ποίησιν. ὁ δὲ Ζήνων οὐδὲν τῶν τοῦ Ὁμήρου ψέγει,[1] ἅμα[2] διηγούμενος καὶ διδάσκων ὅτι τὰ μὲν κατὰ δόξαν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν γέγραφεν, ὅπως μὴ φαίνηται αὐτὸς αὑτῷ μαχόμενος ἔν τισι δοκοῦσιν ἐναντίως εἰρῆσθαι. ὁ δὲ λόγος οὗτος Ἀντισθένους ἐστὶ πρότερον, ὅτι τὰ μὲν δόξῃ, τὰ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ εἴρηται τῷ ποιητῇ· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἐξειργάσατο αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους ἐδήλωσεν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ Περσαῖος ὁ τοῦ Ζήνωνος κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν[3] ὑπόθεσιν γέγραφε καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους.

Ὁ δὲ Πλάτων ἅμα αἰτιώμενος αὐτόν, ὡς εἶπον, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ θαυμαστήν τινα ἀποφαίνει τῆς ποιήσεως, ὡς ἱκανὸν[4] παντὸς χρήματος καὶ πάσας ἀτεχνῶς ἀφιέντα φωνάς, ποταμῶν τε καὶ ἀνεμῶν καὶ κυμάτων· καὶ κελεύει μάλα εἰρωνικῶς[5] στέψαντας αὐτὸν ἐρίῳ καὶ μύρον[6] καταχέαντας ἀφιέναι παρ' ἄλλους.[7]

[1] ψέγει Emperius : λέγει. [2] ἅμα Jacobs : ἀλλά.
[3] κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν Geel : κατ' αὐτὴν or κατὰ τήν.
[4] ἱκανὸν] εἰκόνα Toup.
[5] εἰρωνικῶς Casaubon : εἰρηνικῶς.
[6] μύρον Cobet : μύρῳ.
[7] After παρ' ἄλλους the MSS. read τοῦτο δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν χελιδόνων ποιοῦσιν, *but this the women do in the case of the swallows*, which Crosby deletes as an interpolation.

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[1] The "inconsistencies" in Homer have figured largely in Homeric criticism until recent years.

[2] Cynic philosopher and founder of that school.

[3] In this paragraph Dio has combined two closely connected passages in the *Republic*: (1) 396 B, ἵππους χρεμετίζοντας καὶ ταύρους μυκωμένους καὶ ποταμοὺς ψοφοῦντας καὶ θάλατταν κτυποῦσαν καὶ βροντὰς καὶ πάντα αὖ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἢ μιμήσονται; "Well, then, neighing horses and lowing bulls,

he was rather young and was testing his poetic genius. However, Zeno finds fault with none of the work of Homer, undertaking to interpret it and at the same time to show that the poet has written some things in accord with fancy and some things in accord with reality, Zeno's purpose being to save Homer from appearing to be at war with himself in certain matters which are held to be inconsistent with each other as narrated by Homer.[1] But Antisthenes [2] anticipated Zeno in this theory, namely, that some things have been spoken by the poet in accord with fancy and some in accord with reality; however, Antisthenes did not elaborate the theory, whereas Zeno made it plain in each of its details. Moreover, Persaeus, the pupil of Zeno, also has followed the same plan in his writings, as have several others as well.

But to return to Plato, while finding fault with Homer, as I have said, he at the same time declares his poetic power to be something amazing, his idea being that Homer is capable of everything and reproduces literally every voice, even of rivers, winds, and waves; moreover, he very jestingly gives instructions to bind the poet's brows with a fillet of wool, pour perfume on him, and—send him somewhere else.[3]

and the noise of rivers and the roar of the sea and everything of that kind—will they (the future citizens of the ideal state) imitate these?" (Shorey, L.C.L.); and (2) 398 A, Ἄνδρα δή, ὡς ἔοικε, δυνάμενον ὑπὸ σοφίας παντοδαπὸν γίγνεσθαι καὶ μιμεῖσθαι πάντα χρήματα, εἰ ἡμῖν ἀφίκοιτο εἰς τὴν πόλιν . . ., προσκυνοῖμεν ἂν αὐτὸν ὡς ἱερὸν καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ ἡδύν, εἴποιμεν δ' ἂν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ πόλει παρ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲ θέμις ἐγγενέσθαι, ἀποπέμποιμέν τε εἰς ἄλλην πόλιν μύρον κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς καταχέαντες καὶ ἐρίῳ στέψαντες . . ., "If a man, then, it seems, who was capable by his cunning of assuming every kind of shape and imitating all things should arrive in our

6 Ἔτι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς χάριτος ἐπαινῶν[1] τὴν ποίησιν σφόδρα ἄγαται[2] τὸν ἄνδρα. ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄνευ θείας τύχης οὐδ' ἄνευ Μουσῶν τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπιπνοίας δυνατὸν οὕτως ὑψηλὴν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ καὶ προσέτι ἡδεῖαν γενέσθαι ποίησιν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον τοὺς ὁμογλώττους καὶ ὁμοφώνους τοσοῦτον ἤδη κατέχειν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων πολλούς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν διγλώττους καὶ μιγάδας σφόδρα ἐμπείρους εἶναι τῶν ἐπῶν αὐτοῦ, πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγνοοῦντας τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ τῶν σφόδρα μακρὰν διῳκισμένων· ὁπότε καὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς φασιν ᾄδεσθαι τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν, μεταβαλόντων[3] αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν σφετέραν
7 διάλεκτόν τε καὶ φωνήν. ὥστε καὶ Ἰνδοὶ τῶν μὲν ἄστρων τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν πολλῶν εἰσιν ἀθέατοι· τὰς γὰρ ἄρκτους οὔ φασι φαίνεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς· τῶν δὲ Πριάμου παθημάτων καὶ τῶν Ἀνδρομάχης καὶ Ἑκάβης θρήνων καὶ ὀδυρμῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀχιλλέως τε καὶ Ἕκτορος ἀνδρείας οὐκ ἀπείρως ἔχουσιν. τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς μουσική· καὶ δοκεῖ ἔμοιγε τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ τάς τε Σειρῆνας ὑπερβα-
8 λέσθαι καὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα. τὸ γὰρ λίθους τε καὶ

[1] ἐπαινῶν Capps : ἐπιὼν or ἐπιόν.
[2] ἄγαται with BU : ἄγασθαι.
[3] μεταβαλόντων with P : μεταβαλλόντων H, μεταλαβόντων UBM.

city, . . . we should fall down and worship him as a holy and wondrous and delightful creature, but should say to him that there is no man of that kind among us in our city, nor is it lawful for such a man to arise among us, and we should send him away to another city, after pouring myrrh down over his head and crowning him with fillets of wool . . .,"

THE FIFTY-THIRD DISCOURSE

Furthermore, Plato himself in praising Homer's poesy for its charm admires the man exceedingly.[1] Indeed, without divine favour, without inspiration of the Muses and Apollo, it is simply impossible for poetry to be created which is so lofty and magnificent, and withal so sweet,[2] as to enthral for so many years, not merely men who have the same tongue and language as the poet, but even many of alien race, yes, so that not only men who speak two languages and are of mixed stock, though unacquainted with much else that is Greek, are very familiar with Homer's verses, but even some who live very far away. For example, it is said that Homer's poetry is sung even in India, where they have translated it into their own speech and tongue. The result is that, while the people of India have no chance to behold many of the stars in our part of the world—for example, it is said that the Bears are not visible in their country—still they are not unacquainted with the sufferings of Priam, the laments and wailings of Andromachê and Hecuba, and the valour of both Achilles and Hector: so remarkable has been the spell of one man's poetry! It even seems to me that by this power of his he has surpassed both the Sirens and Orpheus. For in

(Shorey). Though Plato does not name Homer in either passage, Dio is presumably correct in his identification, for Plato (*op. cit.* 607 A) calls Homer "the first of tragedians."

[1] Plato's admiration for Homer is attested by many passages, but nowhere more strikingly than in *Republic* 595 B, Ῥητέον, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καίτοι φιλία γέ τίς με καὶ αἰδὼς ἐκ παιδὸς ἔχουσα περὶ Ὁμήρου ἀποκωλύει λέγειν, "I must speak out," I said, "though a certain love and reverence for Homer that has possessed me from a boy would stay me from speaking" (Shorey).

[2] Dio here reverts to the doctrine of Democritus (§ 1).

φυτὰ καὶ θηρία κηλεῖν καὶ ἄγειν τί ἔστιν ἕτερον ἢ τὸ βαρβάρους ἀνθρώπους ἀσυνέτους τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς φωνῆς οὕτως ἄγαν χειρώσασθαι, μήτε τῆς γλώττης μήτε τῶν πραγμάτων ἐμπείρους ὄντας ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ ἀτεχνῶς καθάπερ, οἶμαι, πρὸς κιθάραν κηλουμένους; ἡγοῦμαι δὲ ἔγωγε πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἀμαθεστέρων ἔτι βαρβάρων τό γε ὄνομα ἀκηκοέναι τὸ Ὁμήρου, ὅ τι δὲ δηλοῖ, τοῦτο μὴ εἰδέναι σαφῶς, εἴτε ζῷον εἴτε φυτὸν εἴτε πρᾶγμα ἕτερον.[1]

9 *Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν βίον ἐπαινέσαι τις ἂν*[2] *τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πολὺ μᾶλλον τῆς ποιήσεως. τὸ γὰρ ἐν πενίᾳ διαγενέσθαι καὶ ἀλώμενον καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν ποιημάτων πορίζοντα ὅσον ἀποζῆν θαυμαστῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης· ἔτι δὲ τὸ μηδαμοῦ γεγραφέναι τὸ αὑτοῦ*[3] *ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐν τῇ ποιήσει αὑτοῦ*[4] *μνησθῆναι, καίτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, ὁπόσοι τινὰ ἔδοξαν ἔχειν δύναμιν ἢ περὶ ποίησιν ἢ καταλογάδην συγγράφοντες, καὶ πρῶτον καὶ τελευταῖον τὸ ἑαυτῶν ὄνομα γραφόντων,*[5] *πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς λόγοις τε καὶ ποιήμασιν, ὥσπερ Ἑκαταῖός τε καὶ Ἡρόδοτος καὶ Θουκυδί-*
10 *δης, οὗτος μὲν οὖν*[6] *οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς*

[1] *εἴτε φυτὸν εἴτε πρᾶγμα ἕτερον* Emperius: *εἴτε πρᾶγμα ἕτερον εἴτε φυτόν.*
[2] *τις ἂν* Emperius: *τινας.* [3] *αὑτοῦ* Emperius: *αὐτοῦ.*
[4] *ποιήσει αὑτοῦ* Emperius: *αὐτοῦ* (or *αὑτοῦ*) *ποιήσει.*
[5] *γραφόντων* Dindorf, *ἐγγραφόντων* Emperius: *συγγραφόντων.*
[6] *οὖν* deleted by Arnim.

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[1] Dio may well have in mind his own experiences as a wanderer during his long exile. Cf. also Or. 47. 5, where he says Homer was glad to get twenty-five drachmas by begging.
[2] Dio might have pointed to the fact that Hesiod, who used

what respect is it a greater feat to cast a spell upon stones and trees and wild beasts and to make them follow than to have mastered so completely men of alien race who do not understand the Hellenic speech, men who have acquaintance with neither the poet's tongue nor the deeds of which his poem tells, but are, as I believe, simply enchanted by a lyre? Moreover, I believe that many barbarians who are still more ignorant than those men of India have heard the name of Homer, if nothing more, though they have no clear notion what it signifies, whether animal or vegetable or something else still.

However that may be, Homer's life deserves praise much more than his verse. For example, his having lived in poverty, a wanderer, and making from his poems only enough to sustain life is evidence of remarkable fortitude and nobility of soul [1]; and besides, his never having written his name anywhere, yes, never having even referred to himself anywhere in his poetry, though all other writers with any reputation for skill in composing either verse or prose write their names both at the beginning and at the end, and many even in the body of their works,[2] both prose and verse. Take, for example, Hecataeus [3] and Herodotus and Thucydides, Thucydides, in fact, solemnly affirming, not merely once at the beginning

the same metre as Homer and was regarded by some of the ancients as Homer's contemporary, recorded his own name (*Theogony* 22) and supplied information as to his home and family. See also p. 381, n. 4.

[3] Hecataeus of Miletus, who flourished about the end of the sixth century B.C., was a pioneer in the field of history. Only fragments of his work remain. The truth of Dio's statement, however, is borne out by frag. 332 (Müller, *F.H.G.*): "Hecataeus of Miletus thus speaks."

ιστορίας, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις διαμαρτυρόμενος καθ' ἕκαστον χειμῶνα καὶ θέρος ὅτι ταῦτα ξυνέγραψε Θουκυδίδης. ὁ δὲ οὕτως ἄρα ἐλευθέριος[1] ἦν καὶ μεγαλόφρων ὥστε οὐδαμοῦ φανήσεται τῆς ποιήσεως αὑτοῦ μεμνημένος, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι ὥσπερ οἱ προφῆται τῶν θεῶν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς καὶ ἀδύτου ποθὲν φθεγγόμενος.

11 Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὠφέλιμα πάντα καὶ χρήσιμα ἔγραψε, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εἰ διεξίοι τις, πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἴη, ὅσα πεποίηκε περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας· περὶ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἐν βραχεῖ ῥητέον[2] οἵους φησὶ δεῖν εἶναι. ὃν γὰρ ἂν ἐπαινῇ τῶν βασιλέων, Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντόν φησιν εἶναι καὶ διοτρεφέας ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τὸν Μίνω, μεγίστην ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ δόξαν ἔχοντα παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, τοῦ Διὸς ὁμιλητήν τε καὶ μαθητὴν εἶναί φησιν, ὡς πρῶτον δὴ καὶ μέγιστον ἁπάντων ἐκεῖνον βασιλέα καὶ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐπιστάμενον καὶ παραδιδόντα τὴν βασιλικὴν τέχνην, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς βασιλεῖς δέον πρὸς ἐκεῖνον βλέποντας κατευθύνειν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀφομοιοῦντας, ὡς δυνατόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, θεῷ

12 τὸν αὑτῶν τρόπον. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς ἦθος καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁποία τις ἦν,[3] ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ποιεῖ φανεράν, ὡς δ' ἐν βραχεῖ περιλαβόντα εἰπεῖν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν δηλοῖ πολλάκις, ἀεί ποτε αὐτὸν οὕτως ὀνομάζων, πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε· ὡς δέον τὴν τῶν βασιλέων

[1] ἐλευθέριος Hertlein : ἐλεύθερος.
[2] ῥητέον added by Post, ἐρῶ by Reiske.
[3] ἦν] εἴη Sonny, ἐστι Gasda.

[1] The work of Thucydides was organized by winters

of his history, but many times, in connexion with each winter and summer,[1] "Thucydides composed this." Homer, on the contrary, was so liberal and magnanimous that nowhere in his poetry will he be found to refer to himself, but in fact, like the prophets of the gods, he speaks, as it were, from the invisible, from somewhere in the inmost sanctuary.[2]

Again, since everything Homer wrote is both beneficial and practically serviceable, if one were to review all he has said on the subject of virtue and vice, it would be a vast undertaking: however, on the subject of kings a brief statement must be made as to what he says they should be like. Whenever, for instance, he praises any king, he calls him "the peer of Zeus in wisdom"; and all the good kings are "Zeus-nurtured"; and Minos, who has the highest reputation among the Greeks for justice, he says is both the associate and pupil of Zeus,[3] his idea being that Minos was the first and greatest king of all, and the only one who himself understood and handed down the art of kingship, and also that good kings should shape their course with an eye to Minos, patterning their own conduct after a god, so far as humanly possible. Moreover, the poet makes manifest the character of Zeus and the nature of his kingship in a multitude of ways, but, to put it briefly and succinctly, he frequently indicates his power and disposition by the constant epithet, "father of gods and of men," the notion being that the care exercised

and summers, the summer being the season for active warfare.

[2] Cf. Or. 36. 34.

[3] *Odyssey* 19. 178-179: ἔνθα τε Μίνως ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστής. Cf. Or. 4. 39-40.

ἐπιμέλειαν πατρικὴν καὶ κηδεμονικὴν εἶναι μετ' εὐνοίας καὶ φιλίας καὶ μηδέποτε ἄλλως προσῆκον ἀνθρώπων προΐστασθαί τε καὶ ἄρχειν ἢ ἀγαπῶντα καὶ προνοοῦντα, ὁπότε ὁ Ζεὺς οὐχ ὑπερορᾷ πατὴρ ἀνθρώπων καλεῖσθαι.

by kings should be that of a solicitous father, accompanied by kindness and affection, and that he should never lead and govern men in any other way than with love and protective care, since Zeus does not disdain being called men's father.

THE FIFTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: ON SOCRATES

This little tribute to Socrates is presumably the prelude to some longer discussion. It affords no clue as to either the occasion or the place where the speech was delivered, but the speaker's rather scornful treatment of the sophists, who occupy fully one-third of the piece, and his affectionate regard for Socrates point clearly to some date subsequent to Dio's exile.

Hippias of Elis, Gorgias of Leontini, Polus, and Prodicus are all familiar figures among the sophists who made such a stir in Greece toward the close of the fifth century B.C. All make their appearance in the pages of Plato, Hippias and Gorgias having provided the titles for three of his dialogues. One might wonder why Dio refrains from naming "the man from Abdera" (§ 2). Abdera's fame may be said to rest upon that of two of her native sons, Democritus, the famous philosopher, and Protagoras, no less famous as a sophist. In spite of the verb *φιλοσοφῶν* in § 2, we infer that it is the latter whom Dio has in mind, for what he has to say suits Protagoras better than Democritus, and also he would naturally take his place beside the four sophists already named. Like them, he figures prominently in Plato's dialogues, and one of them bears his name.

54. ΠΕΡΙ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

1 Ἱππίας ὁ Ἠλεῖος καὶ Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντῖνος καὶ
Πῶλος καὶ Πρόδικος οἱ σοφισταὶ χρόνον τινὰ
ἤνθησαν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ θαυμαστῆς ἐτύγχανον
φήμης, οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ χρήματα
πολλὰ συνέλεξαν, δημοσίᾳ τε παρὰ τῶν πόλεων[1] καὶ
παρὰ δυναστῶν τινων καὶ βασιλέων καὶ ἰδιωτῶν,
ὡς ἕκαστος ἔχοι δυνάμεως. ἔλεγον δὲ πολλοὺς
μὲν λόγους, νοῦν δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντας οὐδὲ βραχύν· ἀφ'
ὧν ἔστιν, οἶμαι, χρήματα πορίζειν καὶ ἀνθρώπους
2 ἠλιθίους ἀρέσκειν. ἄλλος δέ τις ἀνὴρ Ἀβδηρίτης
οὐχ ὅπως ἀργύριον παρ' ἑτέρων ἐλάμβανεν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ διέφθειρε τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν αὑτοῦ συχνὴν οὖσαν
καὶ ἀπώλεσε φιλοσοφῶν, ἀναισθήτως δῆλον ὅτι, καὶ
ζητῶν ὧν[2] οὐδὲν ὄφελος αὐτῷ.

[1] πόλεων Reiske : πολιτῶν.
[2] ὧν added by Reiske.

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[1] Sparta and Athens are no doubt given special mention because they were the leading cities of that day. It is, however, surprising to hear that Sparta was hospitable toward the sophists, for they were a subversive influence and Sparta was noted for its suspicion of outsiders in general.

[2] Tradition has much to say regarding their love of wealth and their success in attaining it.

[3] Their ability to "make the worse appear the better

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The sophists, Hippias of Elis and Gorgias of Leontini and Polus and Prodicus, flourished in Greece for some time and won marvellous acclaim, not alone in the cities at large, but even in Sparta and Athens,[1] and they amassed much wealth, each according to his ability, both by public grant from the several states and also from certain princes and kings and men in private life.[2] But though they made many speeches, their speeches were devoid of sense, even the slightest—the kind of speech from which, no doubt, it is possible to make money and to please simpletons![3] But there was another, a native of Abdera, who, far from acquiring money from others, not only was steadily ruining his own estate, which was a large one, but finally lost it by pursuing philosophy, foolishly, it is plain to see, and seeking after what was of no material advantage to him.[4]

cause" was notorious. It was effectively satirized by Aristophanes in the *Clouds*.

[4] Dio must have had in mind Plato's *Hippias Maior* 282 D—293 A, the theme and spirit of which are strikingly similar. However, his memory of the passage is faulty, for what he records about "a certain man of Abdera" (Protagoras) Plato relates about the philosopher Anaxagoras, and he expressly classes Protagoras with the sophists Gorgias and Prodicus as having made from sophistic more money than any other craftsman whatsoever.

3 Ἦν δὲ καὶ Σωκράτης Ἀθήνησι πένης ἀνὴρ καὶ δημοτικός, οὐδὲ οὗτος ὑπὸ τῆς πενίας ἀναγκαζόμενος οὐθὲν λαμβάνειν· καίτοι γυναῖκα εἶχεν οὐ μισοῦσαν ἀργύριον καὶ παῖδας δεομένους διατροφῆς καὶ τῶν νέων λέγεται τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις συνεῖναι, ὧν φασιν ἐνίους μηδενὸς ἁπλῶς φείδεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν.[1] ἦν δὲ τἄλλα τῷ τρόπῳ κοινὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, καὶ παρεῖχεν αὑτὸν τοῖς βουλομένοις προσιέναι[1] καὶ διαλέγεσθαι, περί τε τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ πολλὰ διατρίβων καὶ εἰς τὰς παλαίστρας[2] εἰσιὼν καὶ πρὸς ταῖς τραπέζαις καθεζόμενος—ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ ὤνια τὰ φαῦλα δεικνύντες ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ περιφέροντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας—εἴ τις ἄρα ἐθελήσει πυθέσθαι τι καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν νεωτέρων ἢ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ ῥητόρων προσεποιοῦντο μηδὲ ὁρᾶν αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ προσελθών, ὥσπερ οἱ προσπταίσαντες, ἀλγήσας ταχὺ ἀπηλλάττετο.

4 Ἀλλὰ δὴ τῶν μὲν θαυμαζομένων ἐκείνων σοφιστῶν ἐκλελοίπασιν οἱ λόγοι καὶ οὐδὲν ἢ τὰ ὀνόματα μόνον ἔστιν· οἱ δὲ τοῦ Σωκράτους, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, διαμένουσι καὶ διαμενοῦσι τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, τούτου μὲν αὐτοῦ[2] γράψαντος[3] ἢ καταλιπόντος οὔτε σύγγραμμα οὔτε διαθήκας. ἐτελεύτα γὰρ ὁ

[1] προσιέναι Pflugk : προσεῖναι.
[2] τούτου μὲν αὐτοῦ with PHU, τοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ Geel: τούτου δὲ BM.

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[1] *Cf. Crito* 44 E—45 B. Critias and Alcibiades also were among the wealthy admirers of Socrates.
[2] Athletic schools.
[3] There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of this state-

And there was also Socrates, a poor man at Athens and a man of the people, who also was not driven by his poverty to accept anything; and yet he had a wife who had no hatred for money, and also sons who required support, and, besides, he is said to have associated with the wealthiest among the young men, some of whom are reported to have begrudged him literally nothing.[1] However, he was in general sociable in his nature and a lover of his kind, and in particular he made himself accessible to all who wished to approach and converse with him, not only spending his time for the most part about the market-place, but visiting the palaestras [2] and sitting down near the tables of the money-changers—quite like the people who display their petty wares in the market or peddle them from door to door—on the chance that some one, whether young or old, might wish to ask some question and hear his answer. Now then, most of the influential persons and professional speakers pretended not even to see him: but whoever of that description did approach him, like those who have struck something with their foot, got hurt and speedily departed.

However, while the words of those sophists, who won such admiration, have perished and nothing remains but their names alone,[3] the words of Socrates, for some strange reason, still endure and will endure for all time, though he himself did not write or leave behind him either a treatise or a will. In fact,

ment; but, though surprisingly little of the work of the sophists is extant to-day, we have a few samples, e.g., the *Encomium of Helen* by Gorgias (cf. Van Hook, *Isocrates*, Vol. III, L.C.L.), a fragment of a funeral oration by the same author, and a treatise, *On the Art*, preserved in the Hippocratic corpus, but attributed to Protagoras by Gomperz.

ἀνὴρ ἀδιάθετος τήν τε σοφίαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα. ἀλλὰ οὐσίαν μὲν οὐκ εἶχεν, ὥστε δημευθῆναι—καθάπερ εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι ἐπὶ[1] τῶν καταδικασθέντων—οἱ λόγοι δὲ τῷ ὄντι ἐδημεύθησαν, μὰ Δί᾽ οὐχ ὑπ᾽ ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων· οὐδὲν μέντοι ἧττον καὶ νῦν φανερῶν τε ὄντων καὶ τιμωμένων ὀλίγοι ξυνιᾶσι καὶ μετέχουσιν.

[1] ἐπὶ added by Reiske.

Socrates died intestate as to both his wisdom and his estate. Yet though he had no estate that could be made public property through confiscation—as is commonly done in the case of men who have been condemned as criminals—his words in reality have been made public property, not by foes, God knows, but by his friends; nevertheless, though they are even now not only accessible for all but also held in high esteem, few understand them and partake of their wisdom.

THE FIFTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON HOMER AND SOCRATES

In his thirteenth discourse (§ 31) Dio speaks of having given instruction during his exile to groups of two and three. The document before us, if not actually a stenographic report of such a proceeding, at least portrays the method employed by Dio. Similar examples have been met already in Or. 21, 23, 25, and 26. In these, and in others like them to be met later, just as in some dialogues of Plato, there is at first a lively debate between teacher and pupil, after which the teacher takes possession of the field and expounds his doctrine with little or no interruption from the pupil. The text of Dio, however, does not reveal the identity of speakers other than the master himself. This may be regarded as a token that the dialogue is an authentic transcript of an actual experience, the reporter having been concerned to preserve a record of what was said and the pupil involved in the discussion being considered of too little consequence to deserve to have his name recorded. Dio certainly understood the psychological advantage that Plato derived from using real persons as the participants in his dialogues and calling them by name (cf. § 12), and it is hard to believe that if Dio's dialogues were mere literary fictions he would have failed to avail himself of that advantage.

The theme of the present Discourse is that Socrates acquired his art as a teacher from Homer. The anonymous interlocutor is sceptical on that point, objecting that Socrates never met Homer, and also calling attention to the wide difference between the function of the poet and that of the philosopher. After successfully demolishing these objections, Dio proceeds to note certain points of resemblance between Homer and Socrates—their modesty, their scorn of

wealth, their interest in ethical problems, their use of parables or similes as vehicles of instruction, and their method of employing specific human beings to illustrate virtues and vices. To this last-named point Dio devotes fully a third of his dialogue. His arguments seem to have silenced his pupil, for there is no rejoinder.

55. ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

1 Ἐπεὶ φαίνῃ καὶ τἄλλα Σωκράτους ὢν ἐπαινέτης καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκπληττόμενος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ἔχεις μοι εἰπεῖν ὅτου μαθητὴς γέγονε τῶν σοφῶν· ὥσπερ Φειδίας μὲν ὁ ἀγαλματοποιὸς Ἡγίου,[1] Πολύγνωτος δὲ ὁ ζωγράφος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἄμφω τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀγλαοφῶντος, Πυθαγόρου δὲ Φερεκύδης λέγεται διδάσκαλος γενέσθαι, Πυθαγόρας δὲ Ἐμπεδοκλέους καὶ ἑτέρων· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τῶν πλείστων ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν τοὺς διδασκάλους τῶν ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν, ὅτῳ ἕκαστος συγγενόμενος λόγου ἄξιος ἐγένετο, δίχα γε Ἡρακλείτου τοῦ Ἐφεσίου καὶ Ἡσιόδου τοῦ Ἀσκραίου. ὁ μὲν γάρ φησιν ποιμαίνων ἐν τῷ Ἑλικῶνι παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν λαβεῖν[2] ἐν δάφνης ὄζῳ τὴν ποίησιν, ἵνα μὴ πράγματα ἔχοιμεν
2 ζητοῦντες αὐτοῦ τὸν διδάσκαλον· Ἡράκλειτος δὲ ἔτι γενναιότερον αὐτὸς ἐξευρεῖν[3] τὴν τοῦ παντὸς φύσιν ὁποία τυγχάνει οὖσα, μηδενὸς διδάξαντος,

[1] Ἡγίου O. Müller : ἤπου or ἵππου.
[2] λαβεῖν Arnim : ἔλαβεν.
[3] ἐξευρεῖν Reiske : ἐξεῦρε or ἐξεῦρεν.

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[1] Pausanias (8. 42. 10) associates Hegias with Ageladas, the reputed teacher of Pheidias.

[2] Aristophon. Cf. Plato, *Gorgias* 448 B.

[3] Only a few words of his are extant. His date is such that he might have influenced Pythagoras. However, the ancients were fond of setting up such relationships.

THE FIFTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON HOMER AND SOCRATES

Interlocutor. Since you make it evident that on general grounds you are an admirer of Socrates and also that you are filled with wonder at the man as revealed in his words, you can tell me of which among the sages he was a pupil; just as, for example, Pheidias the sculptor was a pupil of Hegias,[1] and Polygnotus the painter and his brother[2] were both pupils of their father Aglaophon, and Pherecydes[3] is said to have been a teacher of Pythagoras, and Pythagoras in turn a teacher of Empedocles and so forth. And indeed we are able to name the teachers of most other famous men—and to tell through association with whom each became noteworthy—with the exception of Heracleitus of Ephesus and Hesiod of Ascra. For, to spare us the trouble of seeking for his teacher, Hesiod says he received his poetic gift from the Muses in a branch of laurel as he was tending his flocks on Helicon,[4] while Heracleitus with even more graciousness says that he himself discovered what the nature of the universe really is without anybody's

[4] Cf. *Theogony* 22-23. Hesiod is the first Greek writer to supply autobiographical information. The little mountain hamlet of Ascra, north of Helicon, owes its famē solely to its having been his home and to his uncomplimentary words about it in *Works and Days* 640: Ἄσκρῃ, χεῖμα κακῇ, θέρει ἀργαλέῃ, οὐδέ ποτ' ἐσθλῇ.

καὶ γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ σοφός. Ὁμήρου μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ περὶ αὐτόν, καὶ τοῦτο ἄδηλον τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης ὅτι μὲν παῖς ὢν ἐμάνθανε[1] τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τέχνην ἀκηκόαμεν· τὸν δὲ τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ διδάσκαλον οὕτως ὠφελίμου καὶ καλῆς γενομένης σὺ ἡμῖν σαφῶς εἰπὲ καὶ μὴ φθονήσῃς.

3 Δ. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε οἶμαι πολλοῖς εἶναι σαφές, ὅστις ἔμπειρος ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ἀνδροῖν, ὅτι Σωκράτης τό γε ἀληθὲς Ὁμήρου μαθητὴς γέγονεν, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἔνιοί φασιν Ἀρχελάου.

Καὶ πῶς οἷόν τε τὸν μήτε ξυγγενόμενον Ὁμήρῳ μήτε ἰδόντα πώποτε, ἀλλὰ τοσούτοις ἔτεσιν ὕστερον γενόμενον Ὁμήρου φάναι μαθητήν;

Δ. Τί δέ; ὅστις καθ' Ὅμηρον ἐγένετο, μηδὲν δὲ ἤκουσε τῶν Ὁμήρου ἐπῶν ἢ ἀκούων μηδενὶ προσέσχε τὸν νοῦν, ἔσθ' ὅπως φήσομεν ἐκεῖνον Ὁμήρου μαθητήν;

Οὐδαμῶς.

4 Δ. Οὔκουν ἄτοπον τὸν μήτε ξυγγενόμενον μήτε ἰδόντα, τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως ξυνέντα τῆς Ὁμήρου καὶ τῆς ὅλης διανοίας ἔμπειρον γενόμενον μαθητὴν Ὁμήρου λέγεσθαι· ἢ οὐδὲ ζηλωτὴν οὐδένα οὐδενὸς φήσεις τῶν μὴ συγγενομένων;

Οὐκ[2] ἔγωγε.

Δ. Εἴπερ οὖν ζηλωτής, καὶ μαθητὴς εἴη ἄν. ὁ

[1] After ἐμάνθανε Davis deletes λιθοξόος.
[2] Οὐκ added by Warmington.

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[1] Fire had figured to some extent in the doctrine of earlier Milesian philosophers, but the importance which Heracleitus attached to it in a way justifies his proud boast.

[2] His father Sophroniscus was a carver of statues. Accord-

teaching him, and that he became wise by his own efforts.[1] As for Homer, this point, like everything else connected with him, is obscure to the Greeks. But while we have heard that Socrates as a boy studied the calling of his father,[2] be so good as to tell us clearly who was his teacher in the wisdom which has proved so helpful and noble.

Dio. Why, this is plain, I imagine, to many people, provided they are familiar with both men, namely, that Socrates is in truth a pupil of Homer, and not of Archelaüs, as some say.[3]

Int. And how can it possibly be said that the man who neither met Homer nor ever saw him, but lived so many years later, was a pupil of Homer?

Dio. What of it? Supposing a man lived in Homer's day but had heard none of the poetry of Homer, or, if he had heard, had given none of it his attention, shall we be able to say he was a pupil of Homer?

Int. By no means.

Dio. Then it is not absurd that the man who neither met nor saw Homer and yet understood his poetry and became familiar with all his thought should be called a pupil of Homer; or will you go so far as to maintain that no one can be a zealous follower of anyone with whom he has never been associated?

Int. Not I.

Dio. Then, if a follower, he would also be a pupil.

ing to tradition a group of the Graces carved by Socrates stood near the entrance to the Acropolis.

[3] Diogenes Laertius (2. 16) reports that Archelaüs was a pupil of Anaxagoras and a teacher of Socrates. His tenet that ethical standards are due, not to Nature, but to convention is certainly diametrically opposed to the philosophy of Socrates.

γὰρ ζηλῶν τινα ὀρθῶς ἐπίσταται δήπου ἐκεῖνον ὁποῖος ἦν καὶ μιμούμενος τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς λόγους ὡς οἷόν τε ἐπιχειρεῖ ὅμοιον αὑτὸν ἀποφαίνειν.
5 ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ μαθητὴς ποιεῖν ἔοικε· μιμούμενος τὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ προσέχων ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν τέχνην. τὸ δὲ ὁρᾶν καὶ ξυνεῖναι οὐδέν ἐστι πρὸς τὸ μανθάνειν· πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁρῶσι τοὺς αὐλητὰς καὶ ξύνεισι καὶ ἀκούουσιν ὁσημέραι, καὶ οὐδ' ἂν ἐμφυσῆσαι τοῖς αὐλοῖς δύναιντο, οἳ ἂν μὴ ἐπὶ τέχνῃ μηδὲ προσέχοντες ξυνῶσιν. ἀλλ' εἴ γε δυσωπῇ μαθητὴν Ὁμήρου τὸν Σωκράτην καλεῖν, ζηλωτὴν δὲ μόνον, οὐδέν μοι διοίσει.

6 Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐχ ἧττον παράδοξον τοῦτο ἐκείνου δοκεῖ. Ὅμηρος μὲν γὰρ ποιητὴς γέγονεν οἷος οὐδεὶς ἄλλος· Σωκράτης δὲ φιλόσοφος.

Δ. Εἶεν· οὕτως μὲν οὐδὲ Ἀρχίλοχον εἴποις ἂν Ὁμήρου ζηλωτήν, ὅτι μὴ τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ κέχρηται εἰς ὅλην τὴν ποίησιν, ἀλλ' ἑτέροις τὸ πλέον, οὐδὲ Στησίχορον, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἔπη ἐποίει, Στησίχορος δὲ μελοποιὸς ἦν.

7 Ναί· τοῦτό γε ἅπαντές φασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, Στησίχορον Ὁμήρου ζηλωτὴν γενέσθαι καὶ σφόδρα γε ἐοικέναι κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν. Σωκράτης δὲ κατὰ τί σοι δοκεῖ Ὁμήρῳ ἐοικέναι;

Δ. Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον κατὰ τὸ ἦθος. οὐδέτερος γὰρ αὐτοῖν ἀλαζὼν ἦν οὐδὲ ἀναιδής,

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[1] The anonymous treatise, *de Sublimitate* (13. 3), calls both Stesichorus and Archilochus "most Homeric," and Simonides (frag. 61) says that Homer and Stesichorus "sang to the peoples." Archilochus, the reputed inventor of iambic

For whoever really follows any one surely knows what that person was like, and by imitating his acts and words he tries as best he can to make himself like him. But that is precisely, it seems, what the pupil does—by imitating his teacher and paying heed to him he tries to acquire his art. On the other hand, seeing people and associating with them has nothing to do with the process of learning. For instance, many persons not only see pipers but associate with and hear them every day, and yet they could not even blow on the pipes unless they associate with the pipers for professional ends and pay strict heed. However, if you shrink from calling Socrates a pupil of Homer, but would prefer to call him just a follower, it will make no difference to me.

Int. Why, to my way of thinking, the one seems no less surprising than the other. For Homer has proved to be a poet without a peer, whereas Socrates is a philosopher.

Dio. Very well; on that principle you would not call even Archilochus a follower of Homer, because he has not used the same metre as Homer's for all his poetry but has used other metres for the most part; nor would you call Stesichorus his follower either, because, while Homer composed epic poetry, Stesichorus was a melic poet.[1]

Int. Yes I would; all the Greeks agree on this, that Stesichorus was a follower of Homer, and indeed is very like him in his poetic art. But wherein does Socrates seem to you to resemble Homer?

Dio. First and foremost, he resembles him in his character; for neither of the two was boastful or

verse, used a variety of metres, his nearest approach to the verse of Homer being the elegiac distich.

ὥσπερ οἱ ἀμαθέστατοι τῶν σοφιστῶν. Ὅμηρος μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ὁπόθεν ἦν εἰπεῖν ἠξίωσεν οὐδὲ ὧντινων γονέων οὐδὲ ὅστις αὐτὸς ἐκαλεῖτο. ἀλλὰ ὅσον ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἠγνοοῦμεν ἂν τοῦ γράψαντος
8 τὴν Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν. Σωκράτης δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν ἀποκρύψασθαι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ σφόδρα ἐνδόξους εἶναι τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχειν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον· οὐδὲν δὲ πώποτε εἶπεν ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ μέγα οὐδὲ προσεποιεῖτο σοφίαν οὐδεμίαν, καίτοι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος χρήσαντος ὡς εἴη σοφώτατος Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων. τελευταῖον δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτὸς[1] κατέλιπε γράψας, καὶ ταύτῃ γε ὑπερέβαλε τὸν Ὅμηρον. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐκείνου παρ' ἑτέρων ἀκούοντες ἴσμεν, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς Σωκράτους ἄλλων καταλιπόντων. οὕτως ἄγαν κεκολασμένω ἤστην καὶ ἐσωφρονείτην ἄμφω τὼ ἄνδρε.

9 Ἔπειτα ὑπερεῖδον κτήσεως χρημάτων ὁμοίως Σωκράτης τε καὶ Ὅμηρος. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐσπουδαζέτην καὶ ἐλεγέτην, ὁ μὲν διὰ τῆς ποιήσεως, ὁ δὲ καταλογάδην· περὶ ἀρετῆς ἀνθρώπων καὶ κακίας καὶ περὶ[2] ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ κατορθωμάτων καὶ περὶ ἀληθείας καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ ὅπως δοξάζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ὅπως ἐπίστανται οἱ φρόνιμοι.

Καὶ μὴν εἰκάσαι καὶ παραβαλεῖν ἱκανώτατοι ἦσαν.

Τοῦτο μὲν θαυμαστόν, εἰ ταῖς Ὁμήρου παραβολαῖς πυρὸς καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ θαλάττης καὶ ἀετῶν

[1] αὐτὸς Arnim : αὑτοῦ or αὐτοῦ.
[2] κακίας καὶ περὶ Arnim : περὶ κακίας καὶ.

brazen, as the most ignorant of the sophists are. For instance, Homer did not even deign to tell whence he came, or who were his parents, or what he himself was called. On the contrary, so far as he was concerned we should not even know the name of the man who wrote the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. As for Socrates, while he could not make a secret of his fatherland because of its greatness and because Athens was exceedingly famous and dominated the Greeks at that period, yet he never said anything boastful about himself or laid claim to any wisdom, and yet Apollo had solemnly declared that he was wisest among all Greeks and barbarians.[1] And finally, Socrates did not even put his words into writing and himself bequeath them to posterity, and in this he outdid Homer. For just as we know the name of Homer by hearing it from others, so too we know the words of Socrates because others have left them to us.[2] Thus both were exceedingly self-restrained and modest.

Again, both Socrates and Homer alike scorned the acquisition of wealth. Besides, they both were devoted to the same ends and spoke about the same things, the one through the medium of his verse, the other in prose—human virtue and vice, actions wrong and actions right, truth and deceit, and how the masses have only opinions, while the wise have true knowledge.

Furthermore, they were most effective at making similes and comparisons.

Int. This is indeed surprising, if with Homer's comparisons of fire and winds and sea and eagles and

[1] Cf. Plato, *Apology* 21 A ἀνεῖλεν οὖν ἡ Πυθία μηδένα σοφώτερον εἶναι.
[2] Cf. Or. 54. 4.

καὶ ταύρων καὶ λεόντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οἷς ἐκόσμησε τὴν ποίησιν Ὅμηρος, σὺ παραβαλεῖν ἀξιώσεις τοὺς Σωκράτους κεραμέας καὶ τοὺς[1] σκυτοτόμους.

10 Δ. Εἴπερ γε, ὦ μακάριε, καὶ τὴν Ἀρχιλόχου ἀλώπεκα τοῖς λέουσι καὶ ταῖς παρδάλεσι παραβάλλομεν καὶ οὐδὲν ἢ μὴ πολὺ ἀποδεῖν φαμεν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως καὶ τῶν Ὁμήρου τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποδοκιμάζεις, ὅπου μέμνηται ψαρῶν ἢ κολοιῶν ἢ ἀκρίδων ἢ δαλοῦ ἢ τέφρας ἢ κυάμων τε καὶ ἐρε-
11 βίνθων ἢ λικμῶντας ἀνθρώπους πεποίηκεν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτά σοι δοκεῖ τὰ φαυλότατα εἶναι τῶν Ὁμήρου· μόνους δὲ θαυμάζεις τοὺς λέοντας καὶ τοὺς ἀετοὺς καὶ τὰς Σκύλλας καὶ τοὺς Κύκλωπας, οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἐκήλει τοὺς ἀναισθήτους, ὥσπερ αἱ τίτθαι τὰ παιδία διηγούμεναι τὴν Λάμιαν. καὶ μὴν ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος διά τε μύθων καὶ ἱστορίας ἐπεχείρησε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους παιδεύειν, σφόδρα ἐργώδεις ὄντας παιδευθῆναι, καὶ Σωκράτης πολλάκις ἐχρῆτο τῷ τοιούτῳ, ποτὲ μὲν σπουδάζειν ὁμολογῶν, ποτὲ δὲ παίζειν προσποιούμενος, τούτου ἕνεκεν ἵν' ἀνθρώπους ὠφελοῖ[2]· ἴσως δὲ προσέκρουσε τοῖς μυθολόγοις καὶ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν.

12 Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τοὺς περὶ Γοργίαν ἢ Πῶλον ἢ Θρασύμαχον ἢ Πρόδικον ἢ Μένωνα ἢ Εὐθύφρονα ἢ Ἄνυτον ἢ Ἀλκιβιάδην ἢ Λάχητα μάτην ἐποίει λέγοντας, ἐξὸν ἀφελεῖν τὰ ὀνόματα· ἀλλὰ ᾔδει

[1] τοὺς deleted by Dindorf.
[2] ἵν' ἀνθρώπους ὠφελοῖ Arnim: ἀνθρώπους ὠφελεῖ.

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[1] Archilochus was famed for his beast fables. Some

bulls and lions and so forth, figures with which he adorned his poetry, you shall see fit to compare the potters and cobblers of Socrates.

Dio. I shall, my dear fellow, since indeed we compare the fox of Archilochus[1] with the lions and leopards of Homer and declare it to be not at all, or not much, inferior. However, perhaps you disapprove also of such Homeric similes as those in which he refers to starlings or daws or locusts or a firebrand or ashes or beans and chickpeas, or the one in which he has depicted men winnowing[2]—perhaps these seem to you to be the most inferior portions of Homer's work, while you admire only his lions and eagles and Scyllas and Cyclopes, with which he was wont to beguile stupid people, just as nurses beguile children with tales of the Lamia.[3] Indeed, just as Homer through myths and history undertook to instruct human beings, who are very troublesome to instruct, so also Socrates often used this sort of device, sometimes admitting that he was in earnest and sometimes pretending to be joking, with the aim of benefiting mankind—though in so doing he perhaps came into conflict with mythologists and historians.[4]

Again, it was not without conscious purpose that he[5] represented Gorgias or Polus or Thrasymachus or Prodicus or Meno or Euthyphro or Anytus or Alcibiades or Laches as speaking, when he might have omitted their names; on the contrary, he

fragments of his " fox " are found in Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus*, II. p. 145, L.C.L.

[2] *Iliad* 5. 499-500 and 13. 588-592.

[3] Lamia was supposed to be a disappointed mother who went about stealing children.

[4] Because he took liberties with their material?

[5] Dio, like Lucian, here blends in one Socrates and Plato.

τούτῳ καὶ μάλιστα ὀνήσων τοὺς ἀκούοντας, εἴ πως ξυνεῖεν· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς λόγους ξυνορᾶν οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἄλλοις ἢ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις καὶ τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ μάτην οἴονται τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγεσθαι καὶ
13 ὄχλον[1] ἄλλως καὶ φλυαρίαν ἡγοῦνται. Σωκράτης δὲ ἐνόμιζεν, ὁσάκις μὲν ἀλαζόνα ἄνθρωπον εἰσάγει, περὶ ἀλαζονείας λέγειν· ὁπότε δὲ ἀναίσχυντον καὶ βδελυρόν, περὶ ἀναιδείας καὶ βδελυρίας· ὁπότε δὲ ἀγνώμονα καὶ ὀργίλον, ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ ὀργῆς ἀποτρέπειν. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ νοσήματα ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐχομένων τοῖς πάθεσιν ἢ τοῖς νοσήμασι σαφέστερον ἐδείκνυεν ὁποῖά ἐστιν ἢ εἰ τοὺς λόγους ψιλοὺς ἔλεγε.

14 Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτο παρ' Ὁμήρου λαβεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος, ὅταν μὲν διηγῆται περὶ Δόλωνος, ὅπως μὲν ἐπεθύμησε τῶν ἵππων τῶν Ἀχιλλέως, ὅπως δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀποφεύγειν δυνάμενος ἔστη τοῦ δόρατος ἐγγὺς παγέντος καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ὤνησε τὸ τάχος, ὅπως δὲ ἐβάμβαινεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους καὶ συνεκρότει τοὺς ὀδόντας, ὅπως δὲ ἔλεγε τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὐ μόνον εἴ τι ἐρωτῷεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν μηδεὶς ἐπυνθάνετο—καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἵππους ἐμήνυσε τοὺς Θρᾳκικοὺς καὶ τὸν Ῥῆσον, ὃν οὐδεὶς ᾔδει ἀφιγμένον—ταῦτα δὲ λέγων οὕτω σφόδρα ἐναργῶς οὐ περὶ δειλίας ὑμῖν καὶ φιλοδοξίας δοκεῖ διαλέγεσθαι;

[1] ὄχλον] ὕθλον Meiser.

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[1] I.e., the remarks of the minor participants in the dialogue.
[2] The Dolon episode is found in *Iliad* 10. 299-464.

knew that by this device most of all he would benefit his hearers, if perchance they grasped the point; for to comprehend human beings from their words, or their words from human beings, is not an easy task for any but philosophers and educated persons. On the other hand, most men suppose that such items[1] are purposeless, and they regard them as mere vexation and nonsense. But Socrates held that, every time he introduces a boastful man, he is speaking of boastfulness; every time he introduces a shameless, loathsome man, he is speaking of shamelessness and loathsomeness; every time he introduces an unreasonable, irascible man, he is turning his hearers against unreason and anger. Moreover, in all other cases similarly he revealed the true nature of the passions and maladies of men in the persons of the very ones who were afflicted by the passions or the maladies more distinctly than if he were using the words by themselves.

But it appears to me that he took this too from Homer. For example, when Homer tells about Dolon, how he conceived a longing for the horses of Achilles, and how, when he might have fled from the enemy, he halted with his lance planted close beside him and obtained no benefit from his fleetness, and how his teeth chattered and struck together from terror, and how he talked to the enemy, not only when they asked him a question, but even on topics about which no one was inquiring—for instance, he gave information about the Thracian horses and about Rhesus, of whose arrival no one knew[2]—by telling all this so very plainly does Homer not seem to you to be discoursing on cowardice and love of notoriety?

15 Ὅταν δὲ περὶ τοῦ Πανδάρου, ὡς συνέχεε τὰς σπονδάς, ἐλπίσας δῶρα παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πριάμου, καὶ οὔτε ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Μενέλεων βαλών, καίτοι τοξότης ἱκανὸς εἶναι δοκῶν, καὶ παραβὰς τὰ ὅρκια τοὺς Τρῶας ἀθυμοτέρους ἐποίησε πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον μεμνημένους ἀεὶ τῆς ἐπιορκίας·

νῦν δ' ὅρκια πιστὰ
ψευσάμενοι μαχόμεσθα· τῷ οὔ νύ τι κάλλιόν ἐστι·

16 καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἀπέθανεν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ τὴν γλῶτταν ἀποτμηθείς, πρὶν ἢ καὶ λόγῳ φῆσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῷ χάριν εἰδέναι· ταῦτα διεξιὼν οὕτως ἐπιμελῶς ὑπὲρ ἄλλου του δοκεῖ λέγειν ἢ δωροδοκίας καὶ ἀσεβείας καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν ἀφροσύνης; ὃς καὶ τοῖς βέλεσι κατηρᾶτο καὶ ἠπείλει διακλάσειν αὐτὰ καὶ κατακαύσειν, ὡς φοβουμένων αὐτὸν τῶν βελῶν.

17 Ὅταν δὲ περὶ Ἀσίου τοῦ Ὑρτάκου, ὅτι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κελεύσαντος ἔξω τῆς τάφρου καταλιπεῖν τοὺς ἵππους μόνος οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν,

ἀλλὰ σὺν αὐτοῖσιν πέλασεν νήεσσι θοῇσι
νήπιος· οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλε, κακὰς ὑπὸ κῆρας ἀλύξας,
ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν ἀγαλλόμενος παρὰ νηῶν
ἂψ ἀπονοστήσειν προτὶ Ἴλιον ἠνεμόεσσαν·

18 εἰς τοσαύτην δυσχωρίαν τάφρου τε καὶ τείχους καὶ νεῶν εἰσελαύνων, ὅπου γε μηδὲ τοῖς πεζοῖς συνήνεγκε καταληφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ ὀλίγης ἐκβοηθείας γενομένης διεφθάρησαν οἱ πλεί-

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[1] *Iliad* 4. 92-187.
[2] *Ibid.* 7. 351-352.
[3] *Ibid.* 5. 290-296.
[4] *Ibid.* 5. 209-216.
[5] Polydamas.
[6] *Iliad* 12. 112-115.

And again, when he tells about Pandarus, how he violated the truce in the hope of rewards from Alexander son of Priam, and how he not only failed to slay Menelaüs by his shot, although reputed to be an able bowman,[1] but also by violating the truce made the Trojans more discouraged as to the war through their constant recollection of their broken oaths—as witness these lines :

> But now we fight as traitors to our oaths ;
> On that account 'tis not so well for us [2]—

and how not much later his tongue was cut off and he died before ever Alexander could even put into words his gratitude to him [3]—in recounting these things with such scrupulous attention to detail, does Homer appear to you to be talking of anything else than of bribe-taking and impiety and in general of folly ? Why, Pandarus even cursed his arrows and threatened to smash and burn them, as if the arrows were in fear of him ! [4]

Take another example. When Homer says of Asius son of Hyrtacus that, after his commander [5] had given orders to leave the horses outside the trench, he alone did not obey,

> But with them neared the speedy ships, the fool !
> Nor was he fated, dodging the spirits dire,
> To come again, exulting in team and car,
> Back from the ships to wind-swept Ilium,[6]

driving into such difficult terrain amid trench and wall and ships, where even the men on foot found it not to their advantage when caught by the foe, but most of them were slaughtered when a small rescue party [7]

[7] The " small rescue party " consisted of the two heroes Polypoetes and Leonteus. Cf. *Iliad* 12. 129-136.

ους· ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἐπαιρόμενος καὶ τῷ κάλλει τοῦ δίφρου ᾤετο[1] μὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ τεῖχος ἐλάσειν, ἕτοιμος δὲ ἦν ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν[2] ἀπὸ τοῦ ἅρματος μάχεσθαι· ἆρ' οὖν οὐ περὶ ἀπειθείας καὶ ἀλαζονείας τότε λέγειν φαίνεται;

19 Πάλιν δὲ τούτοις παρατιθεὶς Πολυδάμαντα κελεύοντα εὐλαβηθῆναι καὶ μὴ διαβαίνειν τὴν τάφρον, ἅμα μὲν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπιδεικνύντα ὡς ἐπικίνδυνον, ἅμα δὲ τὸν οἰωνὸν τὸν γενόμενον αὐτοῖς· ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα ᾤετο ἀνέξεσθαι αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, σὺν[3] δὲ τῷ οἰωνῷ τάχ' ἂν πεῖσαι τὸν Ἕκτορα· ἢ τὸν Νέστορα τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ[4] τὸν Ἀχιλλέα λοιδορουμένους παύοντα τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ προλέγοντα φανερῶς τὰ συμβησόμενα αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπιπλήττοντα τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι ὡς ἁμαρτόντι καὶ ἀναγκάζοντα δεῖσθαι τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως· ἢ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἐπανορθούμενον τὸ ἁμάρτημα τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, δι' οὗ πεῖραν βουλόμενος λαβεῖν τοῦ στρατοῦ, πῶς φέροιεν τὴν τοῦ πολέμου τριβήν, ὀλίγου φυγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν· οὐ περὶ φρονήσεως καὶ στρατηγίας καὶ μαντικῆς, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καιροῦ καὶ ἀκαιρίας ἔοικεν ὑποτίθεσθαι;

20 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ὀδυσσείᾳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλ' ἐῶ, ἑνὸς δὲ μόνου μνησθήσομαι, τοῦ Ἀντινόου. τοῦτον γὰρ ἀλαζονίστατον πεποίηκε τῶν μνηστήρων καὶ ἀκολαστότατον· ὃς πρῶτον μὲν κατεφρόνει τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐν ῥάκεσιν ἦν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν

[1] ᾤετο Geel: ὡς τὸ or ὡς τότε.
[2] τὴν θάλατταν] τὸν χάρακα Emperius.
[3] σὺν Geel: ἐν.
[4] καὶ Geel: ἢ.

issued from within the gate; yet Asius, elated as he was by his horses and the beauty of his chariot, though thinking to drive past the wall, was prepared to plunge into the sea and to fight from his chariot—think you not that Homer then is speaking of disobedience and boastfulness?

On the other hand, when he contrasts with these Polydamas giving orders to be cautious and not to cross the trench, pointing now to the enterprise as a risky venture [1] and now to the omen they had had [2]—for he felt that, while no one would listen to his words in any other way, perhaps by the omen he might persuade Hector; or, to take another illustration, when, as Agamemnon and Achilles are reviling one another, Homer depicts Nestor as trying to make them cease their rage, and foretelling plainly what will befall them in consequence of their strife,[3] and later upbraiding Agamemnon as being in the wrong and forcing him to entreat Achilles [4]; or again, Odysseus setting right the blunder of Agamemnon [5] through which, while wishing to test the army to see how it stood the war's delay, he almost brought about its flight—is it not likely that by scenes like these Homer is trying to give advice regarding prudence and generalship and prophecy, and, more than this, regarding tact and tactlessness?

As for the *Odyssey*, while I shall omit all else, I shall recall just one character, Antinoüs. For Homer has portrayed him as the most braggart of the suitors and the most dissolute. For example, in the first place he scorned Odysseus because he was in rags,

[1] *Iliad* 12. 60-79.
[2] *Ibid.* 12. 210-229.
[3] *Ibid.* 1. 247-284.
[4] *Ibid.* 9. 96-172.
[5] *Ibid.* 2. 182-210 and 243-332.

πολυτελεῖ ἐσθῆτι καὶ ἔπινεν ἐκ χρυσῶν ποτηρίων, καὶ τούτων οὐχ αὑτοῦ, καὶ ἐδείπνει πολυτελῶς οὐκ ἐκ τῶν πατρῴων, ἀλλὰ παρασιτῶν ἐπ' οἰκίας ἀδεσπότου· καὶ ἔφη μὲν τῆς Πηνελόπης ἐρᾶν, ἐμίγνυτο δὲ ταῖς δούλαις ταῖς τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ
21 τἄλλα ἦν ἀκόλαστος[1]· τελευτῶν δὲ ἐπεχείρει τοξεύειν, ἄπειρος ὢν τοξικῆς καὶ τὰς χεῖρας οὕτως ὑπὸ τρυφῆς διεφθαρμένος ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι ἅπτεσθαι τῆς νευρᾶς εἰ μή τις ἐπιχρίσειε στέαρ, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ὁρῶντος καὶ τῆς ἐρωμένης παρούσης, ἐν ἀνθρώποις τοσούτοις, μηδ' ἐπιτεῖναι δυνάμενος τὸ τόξον μηδὲ ὅπως στήσει τοὺς πελέκεις ὁ Τηλέμαχος ξυνιείς. ὅμως[2] δὲ καὶ τοῦτον[3] ἀποθανόντα ἐποίησεν οὐκ εἰκῇ πληγέντα διὰ τοῦ λαιμοῦ, οὐχ ὅπου ἔτυχεν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει τὸν Πάνδαρον διὰ τῆς γλώττης. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τύχῃ τινὶ συμβαίνει τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅμως ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι τοῦτον μὲν τὸν ἄνθρωπον διὰ τῆς γαστρὸς δεῖ πληγέντα ἀποθανεῖν, τοῦτον δὲ διὰ τῶν αἰδοίων, τοῦτον δὲ διὰ τοῦ στόματος.

22 Μὴ οὖν ὑμῖν εἰκῇ δοκεῖ Ὅμηρος ὁτιοῦν λέγειν; οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ Σωκράτης ἄλλως ἐχρῆτο τοῖς λόγοις οὐδὲ τοῖς παραδείγμασιν, ἀλλ' Ἀνύτῳ μὲν δια-

[1] οὐχ ὡς ἔνιοι τῶν νῦν after ἀκόλαστος deleted by Crosby. Arnim retains, but suspects a lacuna following the phrase.
[2] ὅμως] ὁμοίως Casaubon, τέλος Arnim.
[3] καὶ τοῦτον] τοῦτον καὶ Arnim.

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[1] E.g., *Odyssey* 17. 445-504.
[2] *Ibid.* 21. 175-187.
[3] *Ibid.* 21. 122-123. Dio either misunderstood—or forgot—the passage or else had a different version before him, for

while Antinoüs himself in costly raiment was drinking from golden goblets—and those not his own—and was dining sumptuously, not on his father's viands, but rather playing the parasite in a house that lacked a master [1]; moreover, while he professed to be enamoured of Penelopê, he was seducing the maid-servants of Odysseus and behaving licentiously in general; and he ended by attempting to draw the bow, though he was unacquainted with archery and his hands were so spoiled by dainty living as not to be able to grasp the bow-string unless someone smeared it with tallow [2]; and what is more, he did this in the sight of Odysseus and in the presence of the object of his wooing, in the midst of such a crowd of men, not even being able to bend the bow, nor understanding how Telemachus was going to set up the axes.[3] But for all that, Homer caused this man also [4] to meet his death by a telling blow through the throat, instead of in some chance spot, just as, you remember, he caused Pandarus to be smitten through the tongue.[5] For indeed if such things do take place by some chance, still in many instances it is possible to say that this man ought to die from a blow through the belly and that man through the genitals and another man through the mouth.

Well then, Homer does not seem to you to say anything without a purpose, does he? No more, then, did Socrates employ his words or illustrations at random; on the contrary, when conversing with

Homer is speaking of the wonder of the suitors at the skill of Telemachus in what was to them a novel use of the axes.

[4] Dio is still thinking of the fate of Asius, slain by Idomeneus with a thrust through the throat, as Antinoüs was slain by Odysseus.

[5] *Iliad* 5. 290-293.

λεγόμενος βυρσέων ἐμέμνητο καὶ σκυτοτόμων· εἰ δὲ Λυσικλεῖ διαλέγοιτο,[1] ἀμνίων καὶ κωδίων, Λύκωνι δέ, δικῶν καὶ συκοφαντημάτων,[2] Μένωνι δὲ τῷ Θετταλῷ περὶ ἐραστῶν καὶ ἐρωμένων.[3]

[1] προβάτων καὶ καπήλων after διαλέγοιτο deleted by Hermann. Geel reads τῷ προβατοκαπήλῳ.

[2] ἀμνίων καὶ κωδίων, Λύκωνι δέ, δικῶν καὶ συκοφαντημάτων Geel: γλύκωνι δέ, δικῶν καὶ συκοφαντημάτων καὶ ἀμιδίων καὶ κωδίων.

[3] οὐ μέντοι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλων ἐνίοτε παραδειγμάτων εὐπόρει, φίλους μὲν ὀνομάζων καὶ φιλίαν, ὅτε πρὸς Λῦσιν διαλέγοιτο, περὶ σωφροσύνης δὲ Χαρμίδῃ διαλεγόμενος after ἐρωμένων deleted by Wilamowitz: *Nay, but he had plenty of other illustrations at times, for he used to name friends and friendship*

Anytus he would refer to tanners and cobblers: but if he conversed with Lysicles, it would be lambs and fleeces; if with Lycon, law-suits and blackmail; if with Meno the Thessalian, lovers and boy friends.[1]

[1] Anytus and Lycon were two of the accusers of Socrates. Anytus had a tannery (Xenophon, *Apology* 29), but Socrates did not talk with him exclusively on tanning (*Meno* 90 B—95 A). Of Lycon we know chiefly what the comic poets tell us—he was of foreign extraction and mingled with certain aristocrats. Plutarch, *Pericles* 24, says that Lysicles was a low-born sheep dealer, who attained some prominence through Aspasia. Aristophanes speaks of him slightingly in *Knights* 132 and 765. We know nothing of his dealings with Socrates. On Meno cf. Plato, *Meno* 70 A and 76 B.

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whenever he conversed with Lysis, but when he conversed with Charmides, it was about self-control.

THE FIFTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: AGAMEMNON OR ON KINGSHIP

This document, like the one preceding, appears to be a transcript of a conversation between Dio and an unnamed pupil. In his opening sentence Dio proposes Agamemnon as a topic likely to improve the mind. Having secured the pupil's acceptance of that theme, he proceeds, in true Platonic fashion, to elicit a definition of the word king: "he who exercises general supervision of human beings and gives them orders without being accountable to them." That definition having been obtained, he demolishes it by calling attention, first to the restraint imposed upon the kings at Sparta by the ephors, and then to Agamemnon's dependence upon Nestor and his council of elders. Having seemingly induced the pupil to concede the point, Dio suddenly suggests that they drop the question, as having been dealt with adequately the day before, and turn to something else. The pupil protests that he is just beginning to understand what Dio has in mind and is eager for a full discussion, but our document goes no farther. Either the reporter decided for some unknown reason to stop at that point or Dio's literary executor felt that this much was sufficient to illustrate this particular theme. The various aspects of kingship are considered by Dio not only in the first four orations in our collection—assigned by Arnim to the opening years of Trajan's reign—but, at least incidentally, in several others.

56. ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ

1 Δ. Πότερα βούλει περὶ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀκούειν φρονίμους λόγους, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἔστιν ὠφεληθῆναι τὴν διάνοιαν, ἢ λυπεῖ σε Ἀγαμέμνων ὁ Ἀτρέως ὀνομαζόμενος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις;

Οὐδ᾽ εἰ περὶ Ἀδράστου τοῦ Ταλαοῦ λέγοις ἢ Ταντάλου ἢ Πέλοπος, ἀχθοίμην ἄν, εἰ μέλλω βελτίων ἔσεσθαι.

Δ. Καὶ μὴν ἀνεμνήσθην ἔναγχος λόγων τινῶν οὓς λέγοιμ᾽ ἄν, εἴ μοι ἐρωτῶντι ἐθέλοις ἀποκρίνασθαι.

Λέγε ὡς ἀποκρινουμένου.

2 Δ. Εἰσί τινες ἀνθρώπων ἄρχοντες; ὥσπερ ἕτεροι μὲν αἰγῶν, ἕτεροι δὲ ὑῶν, οἱ δέ τινες ἵππων, οἱ δὲ καὶ βοῶν, ξύμπαντες οὗτοι οἱ καλούμενοι κοινῇ ποιμένες· ἢ οὐκ ἀνέγνωκας τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος Κρατίνου·

ποιμὴν καθέστηκ᾽, αἰπολῶ[1] καὶ βουκολῶ;[2]

Οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμί σοι εἰπεῖν εἰ ποιμένας ἄμεινον ὀνομάζειν σύμπαντας τοὺς τῶν ζῴων νομέας.

Δ. Οὐ μόνον γε τῶν ἀλόγων, ὦ ἄριστε, ἀλλὰ

[1] αἰπολῶ Arnim : αἰπόλω or αἰπώλω or αἴπολος.
[2] βουκολῶ Arnim : βουκόλῳ or βούκολος.

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[1] Rightly or wrongly the Interlocutor assumes Dio to

THE FIFTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: AGAMEMNON OR ON KINGSHIP

Dio. Do you wish to hear words of practical wisdom on the subject of Agamemnon, words by which the mind can be improved, or does it annoy you to have Agamemnon son of Atreus named in my discussions?

Interlocutor. Not even if you should speak of Adrastus son of Talaüs or of Tantalus or of Pelops, should I be annoyed, provided I am likely to be improved.[1]

Dio. Very well, I have just called to mind certain words which I might speak, if you would consent to answer when I question you.

Int. Proceed, for I will answer.

Dio. Are there certain persons who are rulers of men, just as there are some who are rulers of goats, others of swine, others of horses, others of cattle, these one and all having in common the title herders; or have you not read this verse of Cratinus?

> My post is herder; goats and kine I tend.[2]

Int. I could not tell you whether it is better to call all who tend animals herders or not.

Dio. Not merely those who tend brute beasts, my

mean that Agamemnon might be regarded as too antiquated a theme. He therefore expresses willingness to hear about even more primitive heroes.

[2] Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, Cratinus, frag. 281.

καὶ ἀνθρώπων, εἴ τι χρὴ Ὁμήρῳ πείθεσθαι περὶ τούτων. ἀλλὰ τί οὐκ ἀπεκρίνω τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐρώτημα;

Τὸ ποῖον;

Δ. Εἴπερ[1] εἰσί τινες ἀνθρώπων ἄρχοντες;

Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ εἰσί;

3 Δ. Τίνες οὗτοι; τίνας αὐτοὺς ἐπονομάζεις; λέγω δὲ οὐ τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντας, στρατηγοὺς γὰρ ὀνομάζειν εἰώθαμεν τοὺς ἁπάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς[2] ἡγεμόνας· ὥσπερ γε καὶ κατὰ μέρος ὁ μὲν λόχου ἄρχων καλεῖται λοχαγός, ὁ δὲ τάξεως ταξίαρχος, ὁ δὲ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ναύαρχος, ὁ δὲ μιᾶς τριήρους τριήραρχος· καὶ ἄλλοι εἰσὶν οὕτως καλούμενοι[3] πλείους ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἄρχοντες[4] κατ' ὀλίγους, ὅτι πλείστης προνοίας τότε καὶ ἡγεμονίας
4 οἱ ἄνθρωποι δέονται. οὐδέ γε τῶν χορῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας[5] τυγχάνω πυνθανόμενος, οἵτινες καλοῦνται, τοὺς σημαίνοντας τοῖς ᾄδουσι καὶ μέλος ἐνδιδόντας, οὐδὲ τοὺς τῶν συμποσίων ἡγεμόνας, οὐδ' εἴ τινες ἄλλοι[6] μέρους ἀνθρώπων πρὸς μίαν πρᾶξιν ἢ χρόνον ῥητὸν ἐπιμέλειάν τινα ἢ ἀρχὴν λαμβάνουσιν· ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὖ ποτε[7] τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχοντας πολιτευομένων καὶ γεωργούντων, ἂν οὕτως τύχωσι, καὶ βιούντων ἁπλῶς, ὡς Κῦρός τε Περσῶν ἦρχε καὶ Μήδων Δηιόκης καὶ Ἕλλην τῶν

[1] Εἴπερ] Εἰπέ, Wilamowitz.
[2] στρατιᾶς Reiske : στρατείας.
[3] After καλούμενοι Reiske adds καὶ κατὰ.
[4] After ἄρχοντες Reiske adds καί.
[5] ἡγεμόνας Crosby : κορυφαίους.
[6] ἄλλοι Arnim : ἄλλου.
[7] αὖ ποτε with P, αὐτό γε Arnim, αὐτὸ τοῦτο Pflugk : αὖ τότε or αὖ τοτε or αὐτότε or αὖ ποτέ.

good fellow, but human beings too, if one should put any faith in Homer regarding these matters.[1] But why did you not answer the original question?

Int. What question?

Dio. Whether there are indeed certain rulers of men.

Int. Why, of course there are.

Dio. Who are these? What do you call them? I am not speaking of those who rule soldiers in war, for those who are leaders of the army as a whole we are wont to call generals: just as also, considered unit by unit, the ruler of a company is called captain; of a regiment, colonel; of the fleet, admiral; and of a single trireme, trierarch; moreover, there are several others similarly named who in warfare exercise rule over small units,[2] because at that time men need fullest care and leadership. Nor, as it happens, am I asking what the leaders of the choruses are called, who give orders to the singers and set the tune,[3] nor am I asking about the leaders of symposia,[4] nor about any others who for a single act or for a set time assume a certain oversight and control over a group of men; on the contrary, I mean rather those who at any time rule human beings in their activities as citizens, or in their farming, it may be, or simply in their living, as Cyrus, for example, ruled the Persians, Deïoces[5] the Medes, Hellen those named for

[1] Dio is alluding to Homer's frequent use of the phrase ποιμὴν λαῶν in connexion with the heroes of the *Iliad*.

[2] E.g., the ἐνωμοτάρχης, commander of a fourth of a company.

[3] I.e., κορυφαῖος.

[4] I.e., συμποσίαρχος.

[5] Deïoces was probably an historical character. Herodotus (1. 96-102) regards him as the founder of a united kingdom, ruling Media for more than half a century.

δι᾿ αὐτὸν ὀνομασθέντων καὶ Αἰόλος Αἰολέων καὶ Δῶρος Δωριέων καὶ Νόμας Ῥωμαίων καὶ Δάρδανος Φρυγῶν.

5 *Ἀλλ᾿ οὐδὲν ἤρου χαλεπόν· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι οὓς σὺ νῦν ὀνομάζεις βασιλεῖς ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ ἦσαν· καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὕτη ἣν λέγεις τὸ καθόλου ἀνθρώπων ἄρχειν καὶ ἐπιτάττειν ἀνθρώποις ἀνυπεύθυνον ὄντα βασιλεία καλεῖται.*

Δ. *Σὺ ἄρα οὐχ ἡγῇ βασιλείαν τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τοσοῦτον βασιλευσάντων χρόνον; ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὐ πάντα ἔπραττον ὡς αὐτοῖς*
6 *ἐδόκει, ἀλλὰ περὶ πολλῶν ὑπήκουον τοῖς ἐφόροις, οἵπερ,*[1] *ὅτε κατέστη τοῦτο τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἐν Σπάρτῃ Θεοπόμπου βασιλεύοντος, πρὸς ἐνιαυτὸν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐκράτουν τῶν βασιλέων· ὥστε καὶ Παυσανίαν τὸν Κλεομβρότου τὸν νικήσαντα Πλαταιᾶσιν ἐβούλοντο μὲν εἰς τὴν εἱρκτὴν ἐμβαλεῖν, καταφυγόντα δὲ εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ὤνησεν οὔτε ὅτι γένος*[2] *ἦν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν οὔτε ὅτι παῖδα*[3] *ἐπετρόπευεν οὔτε ὅτι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἁπάσης ἡγήσατο, οὐ μόνον*
7 *τῆς Σπάρτης. ὕστερον δὲ Ἀγησίλαον πολεμοῦντα βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ περὶ Σάρδεις νενικηκότα μάχῃ καὶ κρατήσαντα πάσης τῆς κάτω Ἀσίας ὑπηρέτην πέμψαντες ἐκάλουν παρ᾿ αὐτούς*[4]*· καὶ ὃς*

[1] *οἵπερ* added by Crosby, *οἳ* Herwerden. Arnim noted lacuna.
[2] *γένος*] *γένους* Reiske.
[3] After *παῖδα* Gasda adds *τὸν Λεωνίδα*.
[4] *παρ᾿ αὐτούς* Emperius : *παρ᾿ αὐτούς* or *πρὸς αὐτούς*.

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[1] I.e., the Hellenes.
[2] The Spartan kings traced their lineage to Heracles, who

him,[1] Aeolus the Aeolians, Dorus the Dorians, Numa the Romans, and Dardanus the Phrygians.

Int. Why, your question is not a hard one ; for all these whom you now name were called kings, and kings they were ; and this rule of which you speak, whereby a man exercises general control over human beings and gives them orders without being accountable to them, is called kingship.

Dio. Then you do not regard as kingship the rule of the Heracleidae, who were kings in Lacedaemon for so long a time ?[2] For they did not do everything according to their own pleasure, but in many matters they were subject to the ephors, who, once this office had been established in Sparta in the reign of Theopompus,[3] for their year of office had no less authority than the kings, insomuch that they wished to throw into prison even Pausanias son of Cleombrotus, the victor at Plataea, and when he had fled for refuge to the shrine of Athena, they killed him there,[4] and it profited him nothing that he was of the line of the Heracleidae, or that he was guardian of a boy,[5] or that he had been leader of all Hellas and not of Sparta alone. And later on, when Agesilaüs was at war with the Great King and had been victorious in battle in the neighbourhood of Sardis and had gained control over all lower Asia, the ephors sent a subordinate to summon him home ;

had been given sovereignty over Lacedaemon by Aegimius, king of Thessaly.

[3] Five ephors were elected annually. Some ancient authorities ascribed the institution of that office to Theopompus, others to Lycurgus. Their authority and functions are treated by Aristotle, *Politics* 5. 9. 1.

[4] They walled up the shrine, so that he starved to death.

[5] He was regent for Pleistarchus son of Leonidas.

οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἀνεβάλετο, τοσούτων μὲν Ἑλλήνων, τοσούτων δὲ βαρβάρων γεγονὼς κύριος. οὐκ ἄρα ὑπῆρχε βασιλεὺς τῆς Σπάρτης Ἀγησίλαος, ὃς ὑπήκουεν ἑτέροις ἄρχουσιν;

Καὶ πῶς ἂν εἶεν οὗτοι βασιλεῖς πρὸς τὸν ἀκριβῆ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας λόγον;

8 Δ. Ἆρα οὐδὲ Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐν Ἰλίῳ φήσεις βασιλεύειν Ἀργείων τε καὶ Ἀχαιῶν, ὅτι εἶχε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίτροπον ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον, Νέστορα τὸν Πύλιον; κἀκείνου κελεύοντος τὸ τεῖχος ᾠκοδομήθη τὸ περὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὴν τάφρον περιεβάλοντο ἔρυμα τοῦ ναυστάθμου, καὶ διεῖλεν εἰς τάξεις τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων, πρότερον, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰκῇ μαχόμενον, πεζούς τε καὶ ἱππέας, φύρδην ἁπάντων ἀναμεμιγμένων, Πυλίων τε καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Βοιωτῶν. ὁ δὲ Νέστωρ ὕστερον αὐτῷ προσέταξε κατὰ φῦλα διαιρεῖν τὸν στρατόν,

ὡς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγῃ, φῦλα δὲ φύλοις.

9 οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἔφη, γνώσῃ τούς τε ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τοὺς κακούς· εἰ δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν· ἅμα διδάσκων τῆς ὠφελείας τὸ μέγεθος.

Καὶ τί βουλόμενος οὕτως ἐποίει;

Δ. Ἵνα ἐπίστηται καὶ τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατηγικὴν τέχνην ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων. οὕτως δὲ πάνυ ἦν κατήκοος τοῦ Νέστορος, ὥστε οὐ μόνον, εἴ τι προσέταττεν αὐτὸς παρών, τοῦτο ἐποίει

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[1] For the recall of Agesilaüs, see Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4. 2. 1-3.

[2] *Iliad* 7. 327-344.

and Agesilaüs did not delay a single day,[1] although he had gained authority over so many Greeks and so many barbarians. Was Agesilaüs, then, not king of Sparta, since he was subject to other rulers?

Int. Why, how could these be kings in the strict sense of kingship?

Dio. Will you, then, hold that not even Agamemnon was king of both Argives and Achaeans at Ilium, since he had an older man as supervisor of his rule, Nestor of Pylus? Moreover, it was at that man's bidding that the wall about the ships was built and the trench dug about it as protection for the naval station,[2] and at his direction too Agamemnon divided the army into detachments, though previously, as it would seem, it had fought without organization, both infantry and cavalry, all being mixed together in confusion, both Pylians and Argives and Arcadians and Boeotians. However, Nestor later bade him divide the army by tribes,

> That phratry may aid phratry and tribe aid tribe.[3]

"Moreover," said he, "in this way wilt thou recognize both the valorous and the cowardly among thy leaders"—but if among the leaders, obviously among the common soldiers too—and at the same time he explained the magnitude of the advantage that would result.

Int. And with what purpose did Nestor do this?

Dio. In order that even after Nestor's death Agamemnon might understand the art of generalship. But Agamemnon was so wholly obedient to Nestor that he not only did eagerly anything Nestor com-

[3] *Ibid.* 2. 363, lines 364-366 being added by Dio in paraphrase.

προθύμως, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἴ τι ὄναρ ᾠήθη Νέστορα λέγειν, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ τοῦτο παρέλειπε. τὸ γοῦν ὄναρ τὸ περὶ τῆς μάχης οὕτως ἐξηπάτησεν αὐτόν, Νέστορι ἀπεικασθέν.

10 Οὐ μόνον δὲ τῷ Νέστορι ὑπήκουε δοκοῦντι φρονιμωτάτῳ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄνευ τῶν γερόντων οὐδὲν ἔπραττεν. ὁπότε γοῦν ἔμελλεν ἐξάγειν τὸν στρατὸν τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ πεισθείς, οὐ πρότερον ἐξήγαγε πρὶν ἡ βουλὴ τῶν γερόντων ἐκάθισε παρὰ τῇ νηὶ τῇ Νέστορος. οὐδὲ τὴν πεῖραν, ἣν ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν τοῦ πλήθους, εἰ ἔτι μένειν ἐβούλετο καὶ διαπολεμεῖν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως μηνίοντος, οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπειράθη, πρὶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν πρῶτον εἰσήγγειλεν. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἀπροβούλευτα ψηφίσματα οὐκ ὀκνοῦσιν εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰσφέρειν. ἐκεῖνος δὲ μετὰ τῶν γερόντων βουλευσάμενος οὕτως ἐμέμνητο εἰς τὸ πλῆθος περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τοῦ πολέμου.

11 Τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν ἄτοπον, εἰ βασιλεὺς ὢν μετεδίδου λόγου τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ σύμβουλον εἶχε διὰ γῆρας πιστευόμενον, αὐτὸς ὢν κύριος ἁπάντων τῶν πραγμάτων. ἐπεὶ διὰ τί[1] τὰ περὶ τὴν Βρισηίδα οὕτως[2] ἐποίησεν οὐ πεισθεὶς τῷ Νέστορι τῷ βελτίστῳ;[3]

Δ. Ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν οὐ πειθόμενοι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν οὐδὲ τοῖς νόμοις πολλὰ πράττουσι παρανόμως, ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ τὰς εὐθύνας

[1] διὰ τί] αὐτίκα Arnim.
[2] After οὕτως Reiske adds αἰσχρῶς.
[3] τῷ βελτίστῳ] τὸ βέλτιστον Arnim.

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[1] *Iliad* 2. 16-47. Homer treats the dream as a person,

manded in person, but even if in a dream he imagined that Nestor was saying something, he would not disregard that either. For instance, the dream about the battle deceived him in this way, because of its resemblance to Nestor.[1]

However, he was not only obedient to Nestor, who was deemed the wisest of the Achaeans, but also he would not attempt anything without the elders. For instance, when he was about to lead forth his army in obedience to the dream, he did not do so until the council of the elders had held a session by the ship of Nestor.[2] Moreover, with regard to the test which he wished to make of the army, to see if it was willing to remain longer and fight it out despite the wrath of Achilles, he did not make the test in any other way before first consulting the council.[3] On the other hand, most demagogues do not hesitate to bring before the popular assembly measures which have not been passed upon by the council. Yet Agamemnon conferred with the elders, and only then reported to the soldiery on the state of the war.

Int. This is nothing strange, that, king though he was, he gave the others a chance to be heard and had an advisor who was trusted because of his years, though he himself had full authority in all matters. Else why did he act as he did in the matter of Briseïs instead of obeying the most noble Nestor? [4]

Dio. Why, it is just like the case of many men in private station who, not obeying their rulers or the laws, commit many unlawful acts, acts for which they

serving as a messenger of Zeus and taking upon himself the likeness of Nestor.

[2] *Ibid.* 2. 53-54.
[3] *Ibid.* 2. 72-75.
[4] *Ibid.* 1. 275-276.

ὑπέχουσιν· οὐκοῦν ἀχθέντες εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ζημιοῦνται[1] ἧς ἂν ἕκαστοι δοκῶσιν ἄξιοι ζημίας.

Πάνυ γε.

12 Δ. Τί οὖν; Ἀγαμέμνων οὐ δοκεῖ σοι τότε ἀπειθήσας ὕστερον εὐθύνεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέστορος, ὁπηνίκα αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖ τῆς πράξεως ἐκείνης ἐν τοῖς φρονιμωτάτοις τῶν συμμάχων, τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτοῖς,[2] τίμημα ἐπάγων ὅ τι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτῖσαι,[3] κατηγορίαν χαλεπωτάτην, ἅτε δεινὸς ὢν ῥήτωρ, λέγων ὅτι πάλαι βαρέως ἔχει τοῖς πράγμασιν·

13 ἐξέτι τοῦ, ὅτε, διογενές, Βρισηίδα κούρην
χωομένου Ἀχιλῆος ἔβης κλισίηθεν ἀπούρας
οὔτι καθ' ἡμέτερόν γε νόον. μάλα γάρ τοι ἔγωγε
πόλλ' ἀπεμυθεόμην· σὺ δὲ σῷ μεγαλήτορι θυμῷ
εἴξας ἄνδρα φέριστον, ὃν ἀθάνατοί περ ἔτισαν,
ἠτίμησας· ἑλὼν γὰρ ἔχεις γέρας· ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν
φραζώμεσθα.

14 καὶ νὴ Δία γε οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν εὔθυνε τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζημίαν ἐπήγαγε τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος πασῶν βαρυτάτην. κελεύει γὰρ αὐτὸν δεηθῆναι τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν ὅπως πείσῃ τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ ὃς ὑποτιμᾶται χρημάτων τὸ πρῶτον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἁλόντες τοῖς δικαστηρίοις, ὅσα φησὶν ἀποτῖσαι δύνασθαι, ἀντὶ τῆς ὕβρεως· εἶτα[4] τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅρκον ὑποδέχεται ὀμόσειν σφαγίων γενομένων περὶ τῆς Βρισηίδος, ἦ μὴν αὐτῆς μηδὲ
15 ἅψασθαι λαβών· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ μόνον μεταγαγεῖν ἀπὸ

[1] Before ζημιοῦνται Dindorf deletes τὴν ἀρχήν.
[2] τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτοῖς deleted by Arnim.
[3] τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν . . . ἢ ἀποτῖσαι deleted by Emperius.
[4] εἶτα added by Crosby, καὶ Reiske.

even have to submit to an accounting ; so when they are brought before the court they are subjected to whatever penalty they severally are thought to merit.

Int. Certainly.

Dio. Well then, does it not seem to you that Agamemnon, because he disobeyed on that occasion, was later called to account by Nestor ? I refer to the passage in which Nestor accuses him of that act in the presence of the wisest of the allies, the leaders themselves, adding what he was to suffer or to pay by way of penalty, a most grievous arraignment—for he was an able speaker—wherein he says he has long been troubled by Agamemnon's conduct :

E'er since that day, oh son of Zeus, when thou
Didst go and snatch Briseïs from the tent,
Despite Achilles' rage. and not at all
As I was minded. Many words I spake
Against it ; yet to thy proud heart thou didst
Submit, dishonouring the bravest man,
Whom e'en the gods had honoured ; for his prize
Thou hast by seizure ; still let us plan e'en now.[1]

And, by the gods, he not only called him to account by his words but even laid upon him the heaviest penalty of all for his misconduct. For he bids him entreat Achilles and go to all lengths to persuade him. And Agamemnon, like men convicted in the courts, first makes a counter proposal of a fine, such as he says he is able to pay, as compensation for his insult ; then, among other things, he undertakes to offer sacrifice and to swear an oath regarding Briseïs, that he has not even touched her since the day he took her from Achilles : and in payment for merely

[1] *Iliad* 9. 106-112.

σκηνῆς ἐπὶ σκηνὴν χρυσίον ἐπαγγέλλεται δώσειν πολὺ καὶ ἵππους καὶ τρίποδας καὶ λέβητας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ πόλεις· τελευταῖον δέ, ὡς οὐκ ὂν[1] ἱκανόν, τῶν θυγατέρων τριῶν οὐσῶν ἣν ἂν βούληται συνοικεῖν[2]· ὅπερ οὐδεὶς πώποτε κατεκρίθη παθεῖν, ἀντὶ θεραπαίνης, καὶ ταύτης αἰχμαλώτου, μηδὲν παθούσης, ἀναγκασθῆναι[3] συνοικίσαι τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπὶ προικὶ μεγάλῃ ἄνευ ἕδνων. καίτοι τῆς δίκης ταύτης οὐδεμίαν ἴσμεν ἰδιωτικὴν δίκην πικρότερον κριθεῖσαν.[4]

16 *Ἆρά σοι δοκεῖ πρὸς θεῶν ἀνυπεύθυνος ἄρχειν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' οὐ πάνυ ἀκριβεῖς ὑπέχειν εὐθύνας ἁπάντων ὧν ἔπραττεν; περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον ἐάσωμεν, χθὲς ἱκανῶς εἰρημένον, ἐπ' ἄλλον δέ τινα ἴωμεν.*

Μὴ πρὸς θεῶν, ἀλλὰ πειράθητι πάντα εἰπεῖν ὅσα ἔχεις[5] ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πράγματος, ὡς ἐγὼ μόλις ἀρτίως συνίημι τοῦ λόγου τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. οἶμαι γάρ σε περὶ ἀρχῆς ἢ βασιλείας ἢ τοιοῦτόν τι βούλεσθαι λέγειν.

[1] *ὂν* Emperius : *ἦν*.
[2] *συνοικεῖν*] *συνοικιεῖν* Geel.
[3] *ἀναγκασθῆναι* Crosby, *ἀναγκάζεται* Geel : *ἀναγκάσαι*, which Dindorf deletes.
[4] *καίτοι τῆς δίκης . . . κριθεῖσαν* deleted by Emperius.
[5] *ἔχεις* Geel : *λέγεις*.

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[1] *Iliad* 9. 114-157.

having removed her from one tent to another, he offers to give much gold, horses, tripods, cauldrons, women, and cities; and finally, thinking this not enough, he offers Achilles whichever of his three daughters he may desire to have as wife.[1] Such a penalty no man had ever been condemned to undergo—in payment for a maidservant, and her a captive woman, although she had suffered no harm, to be forced to give his own daughter in marriage, together with a huge dower, and without any presents from the groom![2] In truth we know of no suit involving a man in private station that has received a more bitter decision than this one.

Does it seem to you, in Heaven's name, that Agamemnon ruled the Greeks without being subject to an accounting, and that he did not give very strict account for all he did? Very well, let us drop our discussion of these matters just here, since they were dealt with adequately yesterday, and let us turn to some other topic.

Int. Nay, by Heaven, rather try to say all you can upon the same topic, since I am now at last just beginning to understand the drift of your argument. For I imagine you wish to discuss government or kingship or some such thing.

[2] The bride of epic days brought no dower. The astounding list of items promised by Agamemnon, not all of which are named by Dio, were in satisfaction for wounded pride. Possibly Dio was being facetious.

THE FIFTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: NESTOR

This little Discourse has as its immediate aim a defence of Nestor's behaviour in the famous passage in the first book of the *Iliad*, in which he seems to boast of his former prowess and importance. Dio maintains with some skill, not only that Homer intended the old man to speak as he did, but also that he did not mean to depict him as a braggart—the self-praise of Nestor was to serve the useful purpose of checking the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles.

Having made his point, Dio (§ 10) lets his audience into the secret that his sermon on Nestor was really designed to forestall possible criticism of himself when he should presently deliver an address which he had previously delivered before the Emperor. The emperor in question was doubtless Trajan, and the speech to which our Discourse was to serve as prelude may well have been one of Dio's four discourses *On Kingship*; see Vol. I of the Loeb Library edition and the Introductions. Such is the view of Arnim, who dates our Discourse in Dio's latest period and finds in it evidence of what he takes to have been the speaker's frequent practice, the repetition of speeches previously delivered somewhere else. If one may hazard a guess as to which of the four speeches just mentioned Dio was about to repeat, Or. 2 seems a natural choice, for it is full of Homeric quotations and illustrations selected for their edifying quality, attention is called to Homer's admiration for oratory, and Nestor himself is twice mentioned in that connexion (§§ 18-24).

57. ΝΕΣΤΩΡ

1 Διὰ τί ποτε δοκεῖ ὑμῖν Ὅμηρος Νέστορα[1] ποιῆσαι τάδε τὰ ἔπη εἰπεῖν[2] πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ Ἀχιλλέα, παραμυθούμενον[3] αὐτοὺς καὶ διδάσκοντα μὴ διαφέρεσθαι ἀλλήλοις·

ἤδη γάρ ποτ᾿ ἐγὼ καὶ ἀρείοσιν ἠέπερ ὑμῖν
ἀνδράσιν ὡμίλησα, καὶ οὔποτέ μ᾿ οἵ γ᾿ ἀθέριζον.
οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι,
οἷον Πειρίθοόν τε Δρύαντά τε ποιμένα λαῶν,
Καινέα τ᾿ Ἐξάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον,
Θησέα τ᾿ Αἰγείδην ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι.
κάρτιστοι δὴ κεῖνοι ἐπιχθονίων τράφεν ἀνδρῶν·
κάρτιστοι μὲν ἔσαν καὶ καρτίστοις ἐμάχοντο
φηρσὶν ὀρεσκῴοισι, καὶ ἐκπάγλως ἀπόλεσσαν.
καὶ μέν μευ βουλέων ξύνιον πείθοντό τε μύθῳ.
ἀλλὰ πίθεσθε καὶ ὔμμες, ἐπεὶ πείθεσθαι ἄμεινον.

2 ἆρα μὴ ἀλαζόνα πεποίηκε τὸν Νέστορα λέγοντα περὶ τοῦ Πειρίθου καὶ Δρύαντος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅτι θαυμαστοί τε φύσει ὄντες καὶ πολὺ κρείττους

[1] Ὅμηρος Νέστορα Crosby : Νέστορος ὅμηρος (περὶ νέστορος U, ὁ Ὅμηρος UB).
[2] εἰπεῖν added by Crosby.
[3] παραμυθούμενον] παραμυθούμενα or παραμυθουμένου Reiske.

[1] *Iliad* 1. 260-268 and 273-274. The reference is to the famous fight between the Lapiths and the Centaurs at the marriage of the Lapith Peirithoüs, an adventure familiar in

THE FIFTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: NESTOR

Why in the world do you suppose Homer caused Nestor to speak the following verses to Agamemnon and Achilles when he was trying to pacify them and teach them not to quarrel with one another?

For once in bygone days I dealt with men
Still braver than ye are, yet they did ne'er
Make light of me. Such men I had not seen,
Nor ever shall, as were Peirithoüs
And Dryas, shepherd of the soldiery,
And Caeneus and Exadius, Polypheme
Divine and Theseus son of Aegeus, like
The deathless gods. Aye, they were reared most strong
Of earthly men; most strong were they and with
The strongest strove, wild creatures of the hills,
And slew them ruthlessly. They understood
My counsels and they hearkened to my word.
And so should ye, since hearkening is best.[1]

Can it be that Homer has made a braggart of Nestor when he says of Peirithoüs and Dryas and the others that, though they were not only marvellous by nature, but also far superior to Agamemnon and Achilles, still

Greek art, having been used for the western pediment of the Zeus temple at Olympia, on the shield of the Athena Promachus, and in the decoration of the Hephaesteum at Athens.

ἐκείνων[1] *προσεδέοντο τῆς αὑτοῦ*[2] *διανοίας, καὶ ἧκε μετάπεμπτος εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐκ Πύλου δεομένων ξυνεῖναι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι αὐτῷ; τί*[3] *γὰρ εἰπὼν ὅτι κράτιστοι ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν, ὡς μέγα τι μαρτυρεῖν ἔοικεν αὐτοῖς τὸ ξυνιέναι τῆς αὑτοῦ γνώμης καὶ πείθεσθαι τοῖς λόγοις; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν σχεδὸν τὸ*[4] *οὗ ἕνεκά φαμεν· πᾶσι τοῖς ὀρθῶς λέγουσιν οὐδέποτε οὐδεὶς ἀπειθεῖ*[5] *τῶν ξυνιέντων· ἀλλ᾽ ἔστιν ἡ ἀπείθεια ταὐτὸν ἀξυνεσίᾳ;*

3 *Φέρε δὴ καὶ τἆλλα σκεψώμεθα, πότερον ὀρθῶς εἴρηκεν ἢ δι᾽ ἀλαζονείαν. οὐκοῦν οἱ ἀνόητοι πάντες καταφρονοῦσι τῶν ἀδόξων ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐδὲν προσέχουσι τούτοις, οὐδ᾽ ἂν τύχωσι τὰ ἄριστα συμβουλεύοντες· οὓς δ᾽ ἂν ἴδωσι τιμωμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἢ τῶν μέγιστα δυναμένων, οὐκ ἀπαξιοῦσι πείθεσθαι αὐτοῖς. ἑνὸς μὲν οὖν τούτου χάριν ὁ Νέστωρ συνίστησιν αὑτόν, ὅτι πολλοὺς καὶ δυνατοὺς πρότερον ἠδυνήθη πεῖσαι καὶ ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ τὴν αὑτῶν*[6] *ἀφροσύνην καὶ ἀναισθησίαν ἀπειθήσουσιν, ἂν ἀπειθῶσιν, οὐχ ὡς ἀδυνάτου ὄντος αὐτοῦ*
4 *συμβουλεῦσαι περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ λοιδορῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων ὅτι μηδέποτε μηδεὶς ἠξίωσεν αὐτῷ συμβουλεύσασθαι περὶ μηδενὸς ἔμελλε προτρέπειν τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλ-*

[1] *ἐκείνων* Gasda : *ἐκείνου.* [2] *αὑτοῦ* Crosby : *αὐτοῦ.*
[3] *τί* Crosby : *ἔτι*, which Arnim suspected.
[4] *τὸ* added by Capps.
[5] *ἀπειθεῖ* Emperius : *πείθει* or *πείθεται.*
[6] *αὑτῶν* Crosby : *αὐτῶν.*

[1] Dio here gives a rough paraphrase of lines 269-270 of the passage from which he has just quoted. Either he or the copyist omitted lines 271 and 272 because of *homoeoarchon.*

they wanted his opinion too, going on to say that he had come from Pylus to Thessaly by invitation, since they wanted to enjoy his company and to converse with him?[1] For why, after having said that they were the strongest of men, does Nestor seem to offer as a weighty testimonial in their favour, that they understood his mind and hearkened to his words? Or do we say his purpose was virtually this—that no man of understanding ever disobeys those whose words are right; nay, disobedience is tantamount to lack of understanding?[2]

Come then, let us examine also the other aspects of the case, to see if Nestor has spoken rightly or as a braggart. Certainly foolish persons universally scorn men of no reputation and pay no heed to them, even though they may chance to be giving most excellent advice; but, on the other hand, when they see men being honoured by the multitude or by persons of greatest power, they do not disdain to be guided by them. This is one count, therefore, on which Nestor commends himself, namely, that in days gone by he has been able to persuade many men of influence, and that Agamemnon and Achilles will refuse to obey, if they do refuse, because of their own folly and lack of perception, and not because Nestor is incompetent to give advice about things of highest importance. Accordingly, just as Nestor would not have hesitated to disparage himself, if by disparaging and saying that no one ever deigned to consult him about anything he were likely to move Agamemnon

[2] Familiar Stoic doctrine, that virtue is dependent upon reason. In this the Stoics were anticipated by Socrates, who made of it a fundamental tenet. Cf. Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3. 9. 4-5, Plato, *Meno* 78 A, and *Protagoras* 358 C.

λέα πείθεσθαι τοῖς λόγοις, οὐκ ἂν ὤκνησε λοιδορεῖν· οὕτως εἰ τὸν ἔπαινον ᾤετο παρορμήσειν πρὸς τοῦτο, εἰκότως ἐπῄνει. ἢ οὐκ ἀνοήτου ἀν-
5 θρώπου ἐστὶν αἰσχύνεσθαι αὑτὸν[1] ἐπαινεῖν μέλλοντα τὰ[2] μέγιστα ὀνήσειν· ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ τοὐναντίον, σεμνύνεσθαι καὶ λέγειν ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ πολλάκις, εἰ κίνδυνός τις ἢ βλάβη προσείη; καθάπερ οὖν ὅταν ἰατρὸς βουλόμενος τεμεῖν τινα ἢ καῦσαι παρασχεῖν αὑτὸν ἢ πιεῖν φάρμακον ἀηδές, δειλὸν εἰδὼς τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀνόητον, ἑτέρων μνημονεύῃ τῶν ὑφ' αὑτοῦ σωθέντων διὰ τὸ πεισθέντας ὑπομεῖναι τὴν θεραπείαν, οὐδείς φησιν ἀλαζονεύεσθαι τὸν ταῦτα
6 λέγοντα· δοκεῖ μοι δικαίως ἂν μηδὲ ὁ Νέστωρ αἰτίαν ἔχειν ἀλαζονείας.

Ἓν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο ὑπῆρχεν ὄφελος ἐκ τῶν λόγων· ἕτερον δέ· καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἠπίστατο οὐκ ἄλλως ἁμαρτάνοντας ἢ δι' ὕβριν· ὑβρίζειν δὲ ἡγεῖτο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τότε μάλιστα σχεδόν, ἐπειδὰν καταφρονῶσι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ νομίζωσι πολὺ χείρους αὑτῶν, ἐπαιρόμενοι διὰ δόξαν ἢ δύναμιν, καὶ τὸν[3] Ἀχιλλέα καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐγίγνωσκε διὰ τοῦτο ἐπαιρομένους καὶ στασιάζοντας ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας ἑκάτερον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ᾤετο, Πηλέως καὶ Θέτιδος υἱὸς ὢν καὶ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων διαφέρων ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι, προσήκειν
7 αὑτῷ[4] μηδενὸς ἁπλῶς ὑπακούειν μηδὲ κρείττονα νομίζειν αὑτοῦ μηδένα· τῷ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονι τῆς ὕβρεως αἴτιον ὑπῆρχεν ἡ δύναμις ἡ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τὸ μόνον ἄρχειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων πάντων. ὑπὸ

[1] αὑτὸν Emperius : αὐτόν. [2] τὰ added by Reiske.
[3] καὶ τὸν Arnim : ἢ καὶ τὸν or ἢ καὶ τὸν or ἢ τὸν or ἢ τόν.
[4] αὑτῷ Arnim : αὐτῷ.

and Achilles to obey his words, so, if he thought his self-praise would move them to this, it was reasonable for him to resort to praise. Or is it not the mark of a foolish person to be ashamed to praise himself when by praise he is likely to confer the greatest benefits; just as it is also, I fancy, to do the opposite—put on airs and talk about oneself a great deal, in case some risk or loss should be involved? Therefore, just as when a physician who wants a patient to submit to surgery or cautery or to the drinking of some unpleasant drug, knowing the patient to be cowardly and foolish, mentions others who have been saved by him because they willingly submitted to his treatment, no one says the man who makes these statements is bragging, so it seems to me that Nestor could not justly be accused of bragging either.

This, then, was one benefit resulting from his words. And here is another—Nestor knew that both Agamemnon and Achilles were misbehaving for no other reason than because of insolence; and he believed that men are insolent most of all, one might say, when they despise the others and deem them far inferior to themselves, being puffed up through reputation or power, and he perceived that this was why Achilles and Agamemnon were puffed up and wrangling, each of them because of arrogance. For the one, as he saw, being a son of Peleus and Thetis and pre-eminent among the men of his day in fighting, believed that it befitted his dignity not to listen to anyone at all or to regard anyone as superior to himself; but in Agamemnon's case the cause of his arrogance was the power attached to his kingship and his being sole ruler of all the Greeks. Seeing, there-

δὴ τούτων ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς διεφθαρμένους καὶ μὴ δυναμένους ὁμονοεῖν ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ τὰς ψυχὰς οἰδοῦντας, ὡς ὕστερόν φησιν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς,

ἀλλά μοι οἰδάνεται κραδίη χόλῳ·

ἐβούλετο ταπεινῶσαι καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος, εἰ δύναιτο, καθελεῖν, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ οἰδοῦντα νύξαντες ἢ πιέσαντες. διὰ τοῦτο ἐμέμνητο ἀνδρῶν ἐνδόξων καὶ δυνατῶν, ἔτι δέ, οἶμαι, πρότερον γεγονότων,
8 εἰδὼς ἐκείνοις μᾶλλον συνεπομένην τὴν δόξαν. καὶ μέντοι γε οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐποιήσατο τίνα γνώμην ἕξουσι περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀποφαίνεται ἄντικρυς ὡς πολὺ κρείττονας ἐκείνους[1] ὄντας, εἰ δύναιντο ὀλίγον ὑφεῖναι τοῦ τύφου καὶ τῆς μανίας.

Ἆρα εἰκῇ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν Ὅμηρος περιθεῖναι τοὺς λόγους τούτους Νέστορι, ὅν φησι δεινότατον εἶναι ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων προσεικάζει τῇ φύσει τοῦ μέλιτος, ὃ τοῖς μὲν ὑγιαίνουσιν ἥδιστον καὶ γλυκύτατον ἁπάντων, τοῖς δὲ νοσοῦσι καὶ πυρέττουσιν, ὥς φασιν, ἀηδέστατον καὶ τὰ ἡλκωμένα καὶ πεπονθότα καθαίρειν καὶ δάκνειν
9 πέφυκεν; καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Νέστορος λόγος, τοῖς ἄλλοις γλυκὺς φαινόμενος, πικρὸς ἔδοξε τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ καὶ τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι, νοσοῦσι καὶ διεφθαρμένοις ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς, ὥστε οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν

[1] ἐκείνους Post: ἐκείνων.

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[1] *Iliad* 9. 646.

[2] I.e., the heroes Nestor had named.

[3] Although all the MSS. read ἐκείνων, Post's emendation (see critical note) is justified both by the immediate context and by the passages from the *Iliad* cited by Dio. The very

fore, that they had been spoiled by these things and could not live at peace with one another, but that they were swollen in spirit—as later Achilles declares,

My heart with wrath doth swell[1]—

Nestor wished to humble them and, if possible, reduce their pride, just as persons reduce swellings by pricking or squeezing. This explains why he mentioned men of fame and power, and besides, I fancy, men of former times, knowing as he did that fame attaches rather to such men. Moreover, he did not leave to his hearers to determine what opinion they should hold about the men,[2] but instead he himself expressly declares that they were far superior to Agamemnon and Achilles, in the hope that they might abate somewhat their folly and madness.[3]

Do you think, I ask you, that Homer put these words into Nestor's mouth at random, the Nestor whom he declares to be most eloquent of men and whose power of eloquence he likens to the sweetness of honey,[4] which is most pleasant and sweetest of all to those who are well, though to those who are ill and suffering from fever, so I hear, it is most unpleasant and has the natural power of cleansing and causing to smart parts which are festered and diseased? For instance, the speech of Nestor, though it appeared sweet to the others, seemed bitter to Achilles and Agamemnon, diseased as they were and corrupted by their rage, and as a result they did not obey him

point of *Iliad* 1. 260-274 is that, since better men than Agamemnon and Achilles had hearkened to Nestor's words, they should do so too, and the superiority of the earlier heroes is made most explicit by lines 260-262, as well as by 271-272, which Dio failed to cite.

[4] *Iliad* 1. 247-249.

ἄνοιαν. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἶπε μάτην Ὅμηρος,
οὐδέ, ὥσπερ οἴονταί τινες, ἀπὸ τύχης.[1]
10 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἐῶμεν. ἐκεῖνο δ' ἐνθυμη-
θῆναι ἄξιον ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων· ἐάν τις ἀνθρώποις
ὁμιλῶν διηγῆται πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι καὶ πρότερον
ἄλλοις ὁμιλήσας πολὺ κρείττοσι, δήμοις ἢ βασι-
λεῦσιν ἢ τυράννοις, οὐκ ἀπέτυχεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ'
ἔσχεν ὑπακούοντας καὶ πειθομένους, εἰ δίκαιός
ἐστιν ἀλαζὼν δοκεῖν, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο μεμνημένος
ἐκείνων τῶν λόγων ἵνα θαυμάζοιτο καὶ δοκοίη
μακάριος, ἢ μᾶλλον ἵνα πειθομένους ἔχοι[2] τοὺς
ἀκούοντας, μιμούμενος τὴν τοῦ Νέστορος διδα-
11 σκαλίαν. καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον, εἰ Σωκράτης μὲν τοὺς
ἐν Λυκείῳ ῥηθέντας λόγους ὀλίγον μεταβὰς ἀπ-
ήγγελλε τοῖς ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ
πάλιν εἰς τὸ Λύκειον ἐλθὼν οὐκ ὤκνει διαλέγεσθαι,
καὶ τοσοῦτος ἤδη χρόνος ἐστὶν ἐξ οὗ τὰς αὐτὰς[3]
διδάσκουσι τραγῳδίας καὶ κωμῳδίας· ἡμεῖς δὲ

[1] After τύχης the mss. read: ἢ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν τὰ παιδία, ὧν νέμεται τὸ στόμα καὶ διεφθαρμένον ἐστὶν ὑπὸ ἑλκῶν, οὐκ ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ βοᾶν, μέλιτος γευόμενα; *Or do you think that children whose mouths are ravaged and ruined by sores do not exhibit distress and cry out when they taste honey?* Emperius suspected the passage and Crosby deletes.

[2] ἔχοι Wilamowitz: ἔχῃ or ἔχει.

[3] τὰς αὐτὰς Casaubon: τοσαύτας.

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[1] The Academy and the Lyceum, both famous public parks and associated with the schools of Plato and Aristotle respectively, were situated on opposite sides of the city, the distance between them being not less than two miles. Socrates was especially fond of the Lyceum, but the beginning of the *Lysis* finds him on the way there from the Academy. Plato's dialogues seem to afford no support for Dio's state-

because of their folly. Therefore Homer did not say this at random either or, as some imagine, by chance.

Well then, let us say no more on these topics. However, there is one matter which calls for consideration in the light of what has been said. Suppose that some one in addressing ordinary men tells them that on a previous occasion, having addressed others who were far superior—popular assemblies or kings or tyrants—he did not fail of his purpose with them but secured their attention and compliance, is it just that such a man should be thought a braggart, on the assumption that he had mentioned those words of his for the purpose of being admired and deemed a genius, or was it rather for the purpose of having the compliance of his hearers, imitating the teaching of Nestor? For indeed it is odd if, while Socrates was accustomed to walk but a short distance and then report to those in the Academy the words he had spoken in the Lyceum and, vice versa, had no reluctance to go to the Lyceum and use the words he had spoken in the Academy,[1] and while it has now been so long a time since they [2] began to bring out the same tragedies and comedies year after year,

ment that Socrates was used to going from the one place to the other and repeating his remarks, and the intervening distance could hardly be termed "short"—unless compared with that travelled by Dio on his return from Trajan's court. See Introduction.

[2] Dio seems to refer to the Athenians. With the notable exception of Aeschylus, whose plays were permitted to be revived after his death, in the fifth century the great dramatic festivals of Athens regularly provided new plays. However, old tragedies formed a feature of the programme beginning in 386 B.C. and old comedies beginning in 339 B.C. Cf. *I.G.* II², 2318, lines 202 ff. and 317 ff., and Flickinger, *Greek Theater and its Drama*, pp. 203-204.

ἄτοπον δόξομεν ποιεῖν, ἐπειδὴ βούλεσθε ἀκροᾶσθαι λόγων τινῶν, τοὺς ῥηθέντας πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα νῦν ἀπαγγέλλοντες, ὡς οὐ διαφέρον εἰδέναι πότερον ὠφέλιμοι καὶ χρήσιμοι καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἅπασιν ἐκεῖνοι[1] ἢ φαῦλοι καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς.

12 εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις οἱ λεγόμενοι λόγοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους τείνουσι καὶ ὀλίγους τῶν ἄλλων· οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας ταῖς δημοσίαις ἐοίκασιν εὐχαῖς ἢ κατάραις. ὅθεν ἐγὼ τὸν Πέρσην οὔτε τἄλλα νομίζω φρόνιμον οὔτε ὅτι τοὺς τυχόντας ἀνθρώπους πανταχῇ διέπεμπεν, ὦτα βασιλέως καλουμένους, καὶ πάντα ἐκείνοις ἀκούειν ἐπέτρεπε, δέον φυλάττεσθαι τὰ βασιλέως ὦτα πολὺ μᾶλλον τῆς χρυσῆς πλατάνου, μή τι δυσχερὲς ἀκούσῃ καὶ βλαβερόν.

[1] ἐκεῖνοι Emperius : ἱκανοί.

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[1] See Introduction.

[2] The functionary called the King's Eye is mentioned as early as the *Persians* of Aeschylus (line 979), with which cf. also Herodotus 1. 114 and Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 91-97. The King's Ears are referred to first by Xenophon, *Cyropaedeia* 7. 2. 10-12, who says that there were several of them.

[3] According to Herodotus (7. 27) the golden plane-tree was

we, on the other hand, shall be thought to be acting strangely in case, when you wish to listen to speeches, we now report the words we have spoken in the presence of the Emperor,[1] as if it were a matter of no consequence to know whether those words are beneficial and serviceable, both for you and for the rest of mankind as well, or trivial and useless. For rest assured that, while words addressed to private persons pertain to those men themselves and to few others, words addressed to kings are like public prayers or imprecations. For that reason I believe the Persian king was especially unwise in being accustomed to dispatch in all directions ordinary persons, King's Ears[2] as they were called, and to entrust them with the responsibility of listening to everything, it being necessary to protect the real ears of the king much more carefully than the golden plane-tree,[3] to prevent their hearing anything disagreeable and harmful.

presented to Darius the Great by Pythius of Lydia. Xenophon, *Hellenica* 7. 1. 38, relates that Antiochus of Arcadia scornfully declared that the tree could not afford shade for a grasshopper. However that may be, it was cherished in the royal treasury at Susa and regarded as one of the marvels of the world. It was melted down by Antigonus in 316 B.C.

THE FIFTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: ACHILLES

This lively little sketch, whose spirit resembles strongly that of many of the dialogues of Lucian, is regarded by Arnim as a paraphrase of some dramatic composition, either a satyr play or some Cynic tragedy. The space devoted to a discussion of the relative merits of hoplite and archer reminds him of a similar discussion in the *Heracles* of Euripides (157-164 and 188-203), a play supposed to have been composed about the year 420 B.C., and he therefore suspects Dio's original to have come from about that period, a period when, for some unknown reason, that topic was of live interest at Athens. Sophocles wrote a satyr play called *Achilles' Lovers*, which might have been the play here used by Dio.

The tradition according to which Cheiron the Centaur was tutor to Achilles is as old as Homer (*Iliad* 11. 830-832). According to Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3. 13. 6-8, Thetis, detected by Peleus in the act of making Achilles immortal by passing him through the fire, abandoned her baby and her home and rejoined the Nereids. Thereupon Peleus entrusted the babe to Cheiron. But when Achilles was nine years of age, Thetis, having heard of the prophecy of Calchas, that Troy could not be taken without the aid of Achilles, and knowing that if he took part in the expedition he would meet his death, took him and dressed him as a girl and placed him in the care of Lycomedes on the island of Scyros. We must, therefore, suppose the lad to be not older than nine at the time of our Discourse.

58. ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ

1 Ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς τὸν Χείρωνα ἤρετο, Τί μ', ἔφη, τοξεύειν διδάσκεις; Ὅτι, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐστιν. Δειλῶν, ἔφη, τὸ ἔργον ἐπὶ δειλούς. Πῶς; ἔφη. Ὅ γε οὐκ ἐᾷ τὸν πολέμιον ἐγγὺς προσελθεῖν. Ὅ γε οὐκ ἐᾷ τὸν πολέμιον μακρὰν ἀπελθεῖν. Φευγόντων τὸ ὅπλον. Οὔκ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας. Αὐτὸν δεῖ τοὺς φεύγοντας αἱρεῖν. Βράδιον ἢ τάχιον; Ὡς οἷόν τε τάχιστα. Πότερον οὖν τρέχων τις αἱροῖ ἂν θᾶττον ἢ πετόμενος; Μὴ οὖν αὐτός γε αἱρεῖ; Τίς μήν;
2 Τὸ βέλος. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀκοντίσῃς, τίς αἱρεῖ; Οὐκ οἶδα. Ἀλλὰ πότε αὐτὸς αἱρεῖς καὶ ἀποκτείνεις; ὅταν διασπάσῃς λαβών, ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία; ἦπου, ἔφη, ἀνδρειοτέρας ἡγῇ τὰς γυναῖκας, ὅτι ἐγγύτατα μάχονται ἐπιπεσοῦσαι ἀλλήλαις; ὁ δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς ταῦτα ἀκούων ἅμα θυμοῦ καὶ δακρύων ἐνεπίμπλατο καὶ τὸν Χείρωνα ἐλοιδόρει καὶ οὐκ ἔφη

THE FIFTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: ACHILLES

Achilles questioned Cheiron and said, " Why are you teaching me to use the bow ? " " Because," said he, " this too is one of the warlike accomplishments." " The accomplishment of cowards," retorted Achilles, " directed against cowards ! " " How so ? " returned Cheiron. " It does not allow the foe to come near," said Achilles. " It does not allow the foe to get far away," replied Cheiron. " The weapon belongs to men who flee." " Nay ; instead it is directed at men who flee." " With his own hands a man should overpower those who flee." " More slowly or more quickly ? " " As quickly as possible." " Then," said Cheiron, " could a man overpower more quickly by running or by flying ? " " You don't mean overpower with his own hands, do you ? " " Who does it then ? " " The missile." " But if you hurl a javelin," said Cheiron, " who overpowers ? " " I don't know." " Well, when do you yourself overpower and slay ? When you lay hold of your victim and tear him to pieces, as wild beasts do ? Do you perhaps," said Cheiron, " regard the women as more manly, because they fight at very close quarters, hurling themselves at each other ? " But Achilles, as he heard these words, was filled at one and the same time with rage and tears, and he abused Cheiron

παρ' αὐτῷ μενεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰς Φθίαν ἀπιέναι παρὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ παρ' ἐκείνῳ παιδεύσεσθαι[1]· πολὺ γὰρ κρείττονα εἶναι τὸν Πηλέα τοῦ Χείρωνος καὶ οὐκ εἶναι σοφιστήν, ὥσπερ ὁ Χείρων. ἦν δὲ ἔτι παῖς ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς οὐδέπω ἡβάσκων.

3 Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη, κρείττων ὢν οὐκ αὐτὸς παιδεύει σε; Ὅτι, ἔφη, οὐ σχολὴ αὐτῷ. Ὑπὸ τοῦ; Ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλείας. Διαφέρει οὖν τι βασιλεύειν ἢ παιδεύειν; Πολύ γε. σὺ δέ μοι δίδως κέρας τι καὶ νεῦρον καὶ μικρὰ σιδήρια ἐπὶ λεπτοῖς δονακίοις, ὥσπερ ὄρνιθας θηρεύσειν μέλλοντι, οὐκ ἀνδράσιν οὐδὲ θηρίοις μαχεῖσθαι. γνοίη δ' ἄν τις τὴν ἀθλιότητα ὅση[2] τῶν ὅπλων,[3] εἴ ποτε ἐγγὺς γένοιτο καὶ ἀναγκασθείη αὐτοῖς ἐκ χειρὸς μάχεσθαι. ἀλλὰ δεῖ δραπετεύοντα μάχεσθαι, φοβούμενον καὶ φυλαττόμενον ὅπως μηδὲ ὀφθήσεται, ὥσπερ κακὸν ἀνδράποδον· ὅς γε οὐδὲ ἀποκτείνας σκυλεῦσαι ἂν οὐδὲ ὀφθήσεταί ποτε ᾑμαγμένος ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς ἐχθροῦ. τοιαῦτα διδάσκεις με, τοξεύειν καὶ κιθαρίζειν· πρῴην δέ ποτε καὶ ῥίζας ὀρύττειν, ὥσπερ αἱ φαρμακίδες.

4 Οὐδὲ τὸ ἱππεύειν ἀρέσκει σε; ἐπήρετο αὐτὸν ὁ Χείρων. Οὐδὲ σύ, ἔφη, ἀρέσκεις με τοιοῦτος ὤν. δοκεῖς γάρ μοι ἑτοιμότερος εἶναι φεύγειν ἢ μένειν. καὶ ὁ Χείρων ὀργισθεὶς αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς φρίξας τὴν χαίτην καὶ ὑποβλέψας δεινόν, ὥσπερ

[1] παιδεύσεσθαι Dindorf: παιδεύεσθαι.
[2] ὅση Emperius, Arnim: ὅσα.
[3] τῶν ὅπλων with PH] τὰ ὅπλα UBM, ὅσην ἔχει τὰ ὅπλα S.

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[1] Possibly a reminiscence of Hector's prayer in behalf of his son Astyanax, *Iliad* 6. 480-481.

[2] Thessaly, the home of Achilles, was famed for its witches.

and said he was not going to stay with him any longer, but was going back to his father in Phthia to be educated at his court; for Peleus, he claimed, was much better than Cheiron and not a sophist like Cheiron. Now Achilles was then still a lad, not yet nearing the age of puberty.

"Why then," said Cheiron, "if he is better than I am, does he not educate you himself?" "Because," retorted Achilles, "he has no time for it." "Because of what?" "Because of his kingship." "Is being king, then, in any way more important than being a teacher?" "Much! But you—you offer me a bit of horn, a piece of sinew, and some tiny bits of iron attached to slender little reeds, as if I were going to hunt birds instead of giving battle to heroes or wild beasts. But any one would find out how wretched the weapons are if ever he came to close quarters and had to use them in hand-to-hand conflict. Nay, with them a man must fight as he runs away, in constant terror, guarding against even being seen, like a cowardly slave; indeed, even if one should make a kill, he could not despoil his victim of his armour, nor will he ever be seen bespattered with his foeman's blood.[1] That is the sort of stuff you are trying to teach me—how to use the bow and to strum the lyre; yes, and only the other day even to grub roots, as the witches do!"[2]

"Don't you like riding a horse either?" Cheiron asked him. "No, and I don't like you either," said he, "horsey creature that you are! For you seem to me to be better equipped for running away than for standing your ground." And Cheiron, flying into a rage at him, his mane bristling with anger, darting a terrible glance of menace like a flash of lightning,

ἀστραπή, μόλις δὲ ἀπεχόμενος τοῦ μὴ παῖσαι[1]
5 αὐτόν, ὅτι διενοεῖτο ἐρᾶν αὐτοῦ, Ὦ κακόν, ἔφη, γέννημα καὶ θρασὺ μητρὸς θαλασσίας, ἥ σε κακῶς διέφθειρε φυσῶσα ἐπὶ τῷ γένει· πολύ γε μὴν κάκιον ταύτης ὁ πατὴρ διηγούμενος ὡς ὕμνησαν αὐτοῦ τὸν γάμον οἱ θεοί· σοὶ δὲ οὔτε θαλάττης οὔτε οὐρανοῦ προσήκει οὐδέν. φημὶ δέ σε ἐγὼ πολεμικὸν μὲν οὐδέποτε ἔσεσθαι, δόξειν δὲ τοῖς ἀνοήτοις, οὐδὲ ἡγήσεσθαι οὐδέποτε, ὅπου ἂν πολεμῇς, καίτοι Θέτιδος ὄντα καὶ Πηλέως. διὰ μέντοι τὸ θράσος καὶ τὸ τάχος καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν κολακεύοντές σε φήσουσι φέρτατον ἀνδρῶν.[2] ὅμως δὲ ὑπὸ ἄλλων ἀξιώσουσι βασιλεύεσθαι, σὲ δὲ μάχεσθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναγκάσουσι δώροις τε καὶ
6 ἐπαίνοις ματαίοις, ἕως ἂν ἀποθάνῃς. οἶμαι δέ σε μηδὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀφέξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ κἂν[3] τούτους κεντεῖν[4] τε καὶ ἕλκειν,[5] ὡς δή τι μέγα διαπραττόμενον· ὥσπερ τὰ παιδάρια τὰ νήπια ὅ τι ἂν ἀποκτείνωσιν ἕλκουσι κύκλῳ. τοιοῦτος δὲ ὢν ἀποθανῇ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν γενναίων, ὡς σὺ οἴει· ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν αὑτῷ[6] ὁμοίους, τοὺς ἀνδρείους καὶ ἀνοήτους, ἀποκτενεῖς ῥᾳδίως· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀνδρὸς φρονίμου καὶ πολεμικοῦ ἀποθανῇ, οὐδὲ ἰδὼν αὐτόν.

[1] παῖσαι Emperius : παίσειν or πεσεῖν.
[2] ἀνδρῶν] αὐτῶν UM, αὐτῶν Wilamowitz.
[3] κἂν Sonny : καὶ.
[4] κεντεῖν] ἂν κεντεῖν Arnim, κεντήσειν Gasda.
[5] ἕλκειν] ἕλξειν Gasda.
[6] αὑτῷ Arnim : αὐτῷ U m. pr. BM, σαυτῷ.

[1] The unreasoning taunt of an angry man who has just taxed Achilles with being the son of a "briny mother."
[2] Both Patroclus (*Iliad* 16. 21) and Odysseus (*Iliad* 19. 216) call him μέγα φέρτατ' Ἀχαιῶν.

but with difficulty refraining from striking him, for he was disposed to be fond of him, cried out, "You bad, bold brat of a briny mother, who has spoiled you vilely, puffing you up with pride of birth! yes, and your father has spoiled you still more than she has, with his tale of how the gods sang at his wedding; but the fact is, you have no connexion with either sea or sky![1] But let me tell you, a warrior you will never be, though you will have that reputation with the unthinking, nor ever a leader of men, no matter where you may engage in warfare, for all that you are the son of Peleus and Thetis. Yet because of your audacity and fleetness of foot and physical strength men in flattery will call you most valiant of men.[2] However, they will prefer to be ruled by other princes, while as for you, they will compel you by gifts and empty praises to do battle and risk your life for them until you finally meet your death. But I fancy you will not even keep your hands off the dead; on the contrary, you will even stab the corpses and trail them in the dust,[3] as if, in sooth, you were doing something grand, just as foolish youngsters drag round and round whatever they kill. But for all your arrogance, you will meet your death, not at the hands of some man of nobility, as you imagine; on the contrary, while you will find it easy to slay those who are like you, brave but stupid, you will be slain by a man of sagacity and military science, and, what is more, without ever having seen him."[4]

[3] Referring of course to his treatment of the body of Hector (*Iliad* 22. 395-404 and 24. 14-21).

[4] The cyclic epic, *Aethiopis*, now no longer extant, told of the slaying of Achilles by Paris, who was not "a man of nobility" in the moral sense of the word.

THE FIFTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: PHILOCTETES

This Discourse, as possibly also the one preceding, paraphrases a drama, the prologue of Euripides' *Philoctetes*. Dio has furnished a synopsis of practically the same material in Or. 52, by comparison with which we are enabled to identify the original drama. The synopsis, however, contains two details not found in the paraphrase, namely, that Diomedes arrived in company with Odysseus (§ 14) and the nature of the chorus and its behaviour toward Philoctetes. Arnim believes that these omissions, and the abortive reference to the Trojan mission, indicate either that Dio failed to complete our Discourse or else that his editor, for some unknown reason, chose to eliminate certain portions of the work.

Such a conclusion seems not inevitable. As Lemarchand observes (*Dion de Pruse*, p. 17), Dio himself, when recommending that the student of oratory should memorize for recitation speeches from Xenophon, prescribes that he should not make a slavish copy of the original but that he should rather select such passages as seemed most pertinent (Or. 18. 19). Whether our Discourse be viewed as a school exercise or as intended for Dio's own delivery, it has undeniable unity as it stands. The rôle of Diomedes was undoubtedly minor. As handled by Euripides, after his initial entry with Odysseus Diomedes may well have temporarily withdrawn, leaving his companion to deliver the soliloquy with which our paraphrase begins. Furthermore the dialogue between Odysseus and Philoctetes took place prior to the entry of the chorus, as is obviously true of the entry of the Trojan envoys. Indeed, the concluding words of Philoctetes give the impression that at this point in the play both he and Odysseus went indoors, thus paving the way for the entry of the chorus.

THE FIFTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

Though unpretentious in style and marked by frequent hiatus, our paraphrase is so like Greek tragedy in spirit that more than one have been tempted to try to recover from Dio's version the original lines of Euripides. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, p. 616, prints six such lines, which, with very little change, have been recreated with some degree of probability. These six lines are given below, preceded in each instance by the prose wording from which they were evolved :

1. (§ 6) :

πολλὴν ἔοικας φράζειν ἀλογίαν τῆς δεῦρο ὁδοῦ
πολλήν γ' ἔοικας ἀλογίαν φράζειν ὁδοῦ.

2. (§ 7) :

πόθεν δή; τοῦτο γὰρ πρῶτον εἰκός με εἰδέναι.
πόθεν δέ; πρῶτον γὰρ τόδ' εἰδέναι θέλω.

3. *ibid.* :

πόθεν; εἰπὲ πάλιν, ὡς εἰδῶ σαφέστερον.
πόθεν; λέγ' αὖθις, ἵνα μάθω σαφέστερον.

4. *ibid.* :

οὐ δυνατόν, εἴπερ Ἕλλην ὢν τυγχάνεις, τὸ μὴ ἀπολωλέναι σε ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.
οὐ δυνατόν, εἴπερ τυγχάνεις Ἕλλην γεγώς,
τὸ μὴ οὐκ ὀλωλέναι σε τῆδ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.

5. (§ 8) :

πότερον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχῃ κρατήσας ἢ μετὰ δόλου τινός;
μάχῃ κρατήσας ἢ δόλου τινὸς μετά; [1]

By good fortune, four of the seventeen fragments of the play now extant find their parallel in Dio's version and will be reported in the notes, each in its appropriate place.

[1] Warmington finds additional traces of Euripides in §§ 2, 6, 8, and 11. Indeed, the number of such passages might be considerably enlarged without much trouble.

59. ΦΙΛΟΚΤΗΤΗΣ

1 ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΣ. Φοβοῦμαι μήποτε μάτην κατ' ἐμοῦ φανῶσι ταύτην οἱ σύμμαχοι τὴν δόξαν εἰληφότες ὡς ἀρίστου δὴ καὶ σοφωτάτου τῶν Ἑλλήνων. καίτοι ποία τις ἡ τοιαύτη σοφία καὶ φρόνησις, δι' ἥν τις ἀναγκάζεται πλείω τῶν ἄλλων[1] πονεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης, ἐξὸν ἕνα τοῦ πλήθους δοκοῦντα μηδενὸς ἔλαττον ἐν τούτοις ἔχειν τῶν ἀρίστων; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως χαλεπὸν εὑρεῖν οὕτω μεγαλόφρον καὶ φιλότιμον ὁτιοῦν ὡς ἀνὴρ πέφυκεν. τοὺς γὰρ φανεροὺς καὶ πλειόνων ἅπτεσθαι τολμῶντας σχεδὸν τούτους ἅπαντες[2] θαυμάζομεν καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἄνδρας ἡγούμεθα.

2 Ὑφ' ἧς φιλοτιμίας κἀγὼ προάγομαι πλεῖστα πράγματα ἔχειν καὶ ζῆν ἐπιπόνως παρ' ὁντινοῦν, ἀεί τινα προσδεχόμενος καινὸν κίνδυνον, ὀκνῶν διαφθεῖραι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν γεγονόσιν εὔκλειαν. νῦν οὖν κατὰ πρᾶξιν πάνυ ἐπισφαλῆ καὶ χαλεπὴν δεῦρο ἐλήλυθα εἰς Λῆμνον, ὅπως Φιλοκτή-

[1] ἄλλων Valckenaer : Ἑλλήνων.
[2] ἅπαντες Dindorf : ἅπαντας (πάντες S).

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[1] Cf. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, frag. 787 :

πῶς δ' ἂν φρονοίην, ᾧ παρῆν ἀπραγμόνως
ἐν τοῖσι πολλοῖς ἠριθμημένῳ στρατοῦ
ἴσον μετασχεῖν τῷ σοφωτάτῳ τύχης;

THE FIFTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: PHILOCTETES

Odysseus. I fear 'twill prove that my allies were rash when they conceived of me the thought that I, in sooth, am best and wisest of the Greeks. And yet what kind of wisdom and prudence may this be which makes a man to toil beyond the others to gain the salvation and the victory of the group, seeing that, were he deemed to be but one among the throng, 'twere his to share these blessings with the best? [1] Ah well, no doubt 'tis difficult to find a thing so proud, so jealous of honour, as man is born to be. For 'tis the prominent, those who dare to undertake more labours than the rest, I dare say, whom we all do view with wonder and regard as truly men.[2]

This thirst for glory is what leads even me to bear unnumbered woes and live a life of toil beyond all other men, accepting ever fresh peril, fearing to mar the glory won by earlier achievements.[3] So now a task most hazardous and hard brings me to Lemnos

[2] *Ibid.*, frag. 788:

οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω γαῦρον ὡς ἀνὴρ ἔφυ·
τοὺς γὰρ περισσοὺς καί τι πράσσοντας πλέον
τιμῶμεν ἄνδρας τ' ἐν πόλει νομίζομεν.

[3] *Ibid.*, frag. 789:

ὀκνῶν δὲ μόχθων τῶν πρὶν ἐκχέαι χάριν
καὶ τοὺς παρόντας οὐκ ἀπωθοῦμαι πόνους.

την καὶ τὰ Ἡρακλέους τόξα κομίζοιμι τοῖς συμμάχοις. ὁ γὰρ δὴ μαντικώτατος Φρυγῶν Ἕλενος ὁ Πριάμου κατεμήνυσεν, ὡς[1] ἔτυχεν αἰχμάλωτος ληφθείς, ἄνευ τούτων μήποτ' ἂν ἁλῶναι τὴν πόλιν.

3 Πρὸς μὲν δὴ τοὺς βασιλέας οὐχ ὡμολόγησα τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἐπιστάμενος τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔχθραν, ᾧ γε αὐτὸς αἴτιος ἐγενόμην καταλειφθῆναι, ὅτε δηχθεὶς ἔτυχεν ὑπὸ χαλεπῆς καὶ ἀνιάτου ἐχίδνης. οὐκ ἂν οὖν ᾤμην οὐδὲ πειθὼ τοιαύτην ἐξευρεῖν, ὑφ' ἧς ἄν ποτε ἐκεῖνος ἐμοὶ πρᾴως ἔσχεν· ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀποθανεῖσθαι ᾤμην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ὕστερον δέ, τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς μοι παρακελευσαμένης καθ' ὕπνους, ὥσπερ εἴωθε, θαρροῦντα ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἰέναι—αὐτὴ γὰρ ἀλλάξειν μου τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὴν φωνήν, ὥστε λαθεῖν αὐτῷ ξυγγενόμενον—οὕτω δὴ ἀφῖγμαι θαρρήσας.

4 Πυνθάνομαι δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Φρυγῶν πρέσβεις ἀπεστάλθαι κρύφα, ἐάν πως δύνωνται τὸν Φιλοκτήτην πείσαντες δώροις ἅμα καὶ διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀναλαβεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ τόξα. τοιούτου προκειμένου τοῦ[2] ἄθλου πῶς οὐ πάντα χρὴ ἄνδρα γίγνεσθαι πρόθυμον; ὡς διαμαρτάνοντι τῆς πράξεως ταύτης πάντα τὰ πρότερον εἰργασμένα μάτην πεπονῆσθαι ἔοικεν.

5 Παπαῖ· πρόσεισιν ὁ ἀνήρ. αὐτὸς ὅδε, ὁ Ποίαντος παῖς, οὐκ ἄδηλος τῇ ξυμφορᾷ, μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς προβαίνων. ὢ τοῦ χαλεποῦ καὶ δεινοῦ ὁράματος οὕτως.[3] τό τε γάρ[4] εἶδος ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου φοβερὸν ἥ τε στολὴ ἀήθης· δοραὶ θηρίων καλύπτουσιν αὐτόν. ἀλλὰ σὺ ἄμυνον, ὦ δέσποινα

[1] ὡς] ὃς UB, ὅτε Casaubon.
[2] τοῦ added by Post.
[3] ὁράματος οὕτως. τό] ὁράματος. οὕτως τό Hartung.

here, that Philoctetes and the bow of Heracles I may bear off for my allies. For the one most gifted in prophecy of all the Phrygians,[1] Helenus Priam's son, when by good fortune taken captive, disclosed that without these the city never could be seized.

Now to the princes I did not agree to undertake the venture, knowing well the malice of that man,[2] since 'twas I myself caused him to be marooned, that day when by ill fortune he was stung by a fierce and deadly viper. Thus I could not hope to find persuasion such that he should ever feel a kindly feeling toward me; nay, I thought he'd slay me out of hand. But afterwards, Athena urging me in dreams, as is her wont, boldly to go and fetch the man—for she herself would change my form and voice, that I might meet him safe from detection—so did I pluck up courage, and am here.

But word has come that envoys from the Phrygians too have secretly been sent, if haply they may win Philoctetes by means of bribes, and through his hatred of us Greeks as well, and so take back to Troy him and his bow. With such a prize before him, why should not any man grow keen? For, should one fail in this endeavour, all previous achievements, it seems, have been but labour lost.

(*Aside*) Hah! the man draws nigh. 'Tis he himself, the son of Poeas, as is plain from his affliction, toiling along with labour and in pain. Oh what a grievous, awful spectacle! Aye, his person is frightful, thanks to his disease, his garb unwonted too—skins of wild beasts cover his nakedness. Come,

[1] I.e., the Trojans.

[2] I.e., Philoctetes.

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[4] Hartung moves γὰρ so as to follow δοραὶ.

Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ μὴ μάτην φανῇς ἡμῖν ὑποσχομένη τὴν σωτηρίαν.

6 ΦΙΛΟΚΤΗΤΗΣ. Τί δὴ βουλόμενος, ὅστις εἶ ποτε σύ, ἢ τίνα τόλμαν λαβών, πότερον ἁρπαγῆς χάριν ἥκεις ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν ἄπορον στέγην ἢ κατάσκοπος τῆς ἡμετέρας δυστυχίας;

Ο. Οὔ τοί γε ὁρᾷς ἄνδρα ὑβριστήν.

Φ. Οὐ μὴν εἰωθώς γε πρότερον δεῦρο ἥκεις.

Ο. Οὐ γὰρ εἰωθώς· εἴη[1] δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐν καιρῷ ἀφῖχθαι.

Φ. Πολλὴν ἔοικας φράζειν ἀλογίαν τῆς δεῦρο ὁδοῦ.

Ο. Εὖ τοίνυν ἴσθι οὐ χωρὶς αἰτίας με ἥκοντα καὶ σοί γε οὐκ ἀλλότριον φανησόμενον.

7 Φ. Πόθεν δή; τοῦτο γὰρ πρῶτον εἰκός με εἰδέναι.

Ο. Ἀλλ' εἰμὶ Ἀργεῖος τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν πλευσάντων.

Φ. Πόθεν; εἰπὲ πάλιν, ὡς εἰδῶ σαφέστερον.

Ο. Οὐκοῦν ἔτι δεύτερον ἀκούεις· τῶν ἐπ' Ἴλιον στρατευσάντων Ἀχαιῶν εἶναί φημι.

Φ. Καλῶς δῆτα ἔφησθα ἐμὸς εἶναι φίλος, ὁπότε γε τῶν ἐμοὶ πολεμιωτάτων Ἀργείων πέφηνας. τούτων δὴ τῆς ἀδικίας αὐτίκα μάλα[2] ὑφέξεις δίκην.

Ο. Ἀλλ' ὦ πρὸς θεῶν ἐπίσχες ἀφεῖναι τὸ βέλος.

Φ. Οὐ δυνατόν, εἴπερ Ἕλλην ὢν τυγχάνεις, τὸ μὴ ἀπολωλέναι σε ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

[1] εἴη Casaubon : εἰ.
[2] μάλα Dindorf, μάλα σὺ Wyttenbach : μάλιστα.

Mistress Athena, be thou mine aid, nor show thyself to have promised me safety all in vain!

Philoctetes. What is thy purpose, whoe'er thou art, by what audacity inspired hast thou come to this my poor retreat—to pillage, or to spy upon my evil fortune?

Od. Believe me, no man of violence dost thou see.

Phil. Yet surely not of thy former wont hast thou come here.

Od. Aye, not former wont: yet may it prove that coming even now is opportune.

Phil. Methinks thou dost betray much lack of reason in thy coming here.

Od. Then rest assured, not lacking reason have I come, and to thee at least no stranger shall I prove.

Phil. How so? This first of all 'tis fair that I should know.

Od. Well, I'm an Argive, one of those who sailed for Troy.

Phil. How can that be? Repeat thy words, that I may more clearly know.

Od. Then dost thou hear it yet a second time: of those Achaeans[1] who advanced on Troy I claim to be.

Phil. Faith, thou didst well in claiming to be friend of mine, seeing thou art revealed among my bitterest foes, the Argives! So for their injustice shalt thou this very instant pay the penalty.

Od. Nay, by the gods, forbear to loose thy shaft!

Phil. It cannot be, if haply thou art Greek in truth, that thou shouldst fail to die this very day.

[1] The words Argive and Achaean are used indifferently as in the epic.

8 Ο. Ἀλλὰ πέπονθά γε ὑπ᾿ αὐτῶν τοιαῦτα ἐξ ὧν δικαίως σοὶ μὲν ἂν φίλος εἴην, ἐκείνων δὲ ἐχθρός.

Φ. Καὶ τί δὴ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὃ πέπονθας οὕτως χαλεπόν;

Ο. Φυγάδα με ἤλασεν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ.

Φ. Τί δὲ ἔδρας, ἐφ᾿ ὅτῳ τῆσδε τῆς δίκης ἔτυχες;

Ο. Οἶμαί σε γιγνώσκειν τὸν Ναυπλίου παῖδα Παλαμήδην.

Φ. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων οὐδὲ ὀλίγου ἄξιος συνέπλει οὔτε τῷ στρατῷ οὔτε τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν.[1]

Ο. Τὸν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ὁ κοινὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων λυμεὼν διέφθειρεν.

Φ. Πότερον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχῃ κρατήσας ἢ μετὰ δόλου τινός;

Ο. Προδοσίαν ἐπενεγκὼν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῖς Πριαμίδαις.

Φ. Ἦν δὲ κατ᾿ ἀλήθειαν οὕτως ἔχον ἢ πέπονθε[2] κατεψευσμένος;

Ο. Πῶς δ᾿ ἂν δικαίως γένοιτο τῶν ὑπ᾿ ἐκείνου γιγνομένων ὁτιοῦν;

9 Φ. Ὦ μηδενὸς ἀποσχόμενος τῶν χαλεπωτάτων, λόγῳ τε καὶ ἔργῳ πανουργότατε ἀνθρώπων, Ὀδυσσεῦ, οἷον αὖ τοῦτον ἄνδρα ἀνῄρηκας, ὃς οὐδὲν ἧττον ὠφέλιμος ἦν τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ἤπερ—οἶμαι—σύ, τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ σοφώτατα ἀνευρίσκων καὶ συντιθείς· ὥσπερ ἀμέλει κἀμὲ ἐξέθηκας, ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας τε καὶ νίκης περιπεσόντα τῇδε τῇ ξυμφορᾷ, δεικνύντα τὸν Χρύσης βωμόν, οὗ

[1] Οὐ γὰρ . . . ἡγεμόσιν assigned to Philoctetes by Wilamowitz. [2] πέπονθε Emperius: πεπόνθει.

[1] Odysseus.

Od. Nay, I have suffered at their hands such things that I should rightly be a friend to thee, to them a foe.

Phil. And what is this thou hast suffered so terrible?

Od. Odysseus drove me an exile from the camp.

Phil. What hadst thou done to meet with such a doom?

Od. Methinks thou knowest Palamedes son of Nauplius.

Phil. In truth no common man was he who sailed with us, nor little worth to men and generals.

Od. Aye, such the man the common spoiler of the Greeks destroyed.

Phil. O'ercoming him in open fight, or with some guile?

Od. Charging betrayal of the camp to Priam's sons.

Phil. But was it so in fact, or has he met with calumny?

Od. Could aught at all that scoundrel[1] did be just?

Phil. Oh thou who hast refrained from naught most cruel, thou utter villain in both word and deed, Odysseus, once more how fine the man thou hast destroyed, of no less value to the allied host than thou, methinks, inventing and devising the best and sagest plans! Just so in fact didst thou make me a castaway, when for the salvation and the victory of us all I met with this disaster, because I showed them Chrysê's altar,[2] where they must first make

[2] Chrysê was a tiny islet not far from Troy. There dwelt Apollo's priest, father of Chryseïs, who was the cause of the feud between Agamemnon and Achilles. Both Euripides and Sophocles attribute the affliction of Philoctetes to the bite of the serpent which guarded Apollo's altar.

θύσαντες κρατήσειν ἔμελλον τῶν πολεμίων· εἰ δὲ μή, μάτην ἐγίγνετο ἡ στρατεία. ἀλλὰ τί δή σοι προσῆκον τῆς Παλαμήδους τύχης;

10 Ο. *Εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους ἦλθε τὸ κακὸν καὶ πάντες ἀπολώλασιν, ὅστις μὴ φυγεῖν ἠδυνήθη. οὕτω δὲ κἀγὼ τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς διαπλεύσας μόνος δεῦρο ἐσώθην. σχεδὸν μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐν ὅσῃ*[1] *χρείᾳ καθέστηκας αὐτός. εἰ δ' οὖν ἔχεις τινὰ μηχανήν, ξυμπροθυμηθεὶς ἡμῖν περὶ τὸν οἴκαδε ἀπόπλουν ἡμᾶς τε εὖ πεποιηκὼς ἔσῃ καὶ ἅμα ἄγγελον ἀποπέμψεις πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἴκαδε τῶν σοὶ παρόντων*[2] *κακῶν.*

11 Φ. *Ἀλλ', ὦ δύστηνε, πρὸς τοιοῦτον ἕτερον ἥκεις ξύμμαχον, αὐτόν τε ἄπορον καὶ ἔρημον φίλων ἐπὶ τῆσδε τῆς ἀκτῆς ἐρριμμένον, γλίσχρως καὶ μόλις ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τόξων πορίζοντα καὶ τροφὴν καὶ ἐσθῆτα, ὡς ὁρᾷς. ἣ γὰρ ἦν ἡμῖν ἐσθὴς πρότερον, ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου ἀνάλωται. εἰ δὲ δὴ τοῦδ' ἐθελήσεις κοινωνεῖν τοῦ βίου μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐνθάδε ἕως ἂν ἑτέρα σοι παραπέσῃ σωτηρία ποθέν, οὐκ ἂν φθονοῖμεν. δυσχερῆ γε μὴν τἄνδον ὁράματα, ὦ ξένε, τελαμῶνες τε ἕλκους*[3] *ἀνάπλεοι καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα τῆς νόσου· αὐτός τε οὐχ ἡδὺς ξυγγενέσθαι, ὅταν ἡ ὀδύνη προσπέσῃ. καίτοι λελώφηκε τῷ χρόνῳ τὸ πολὺ τῆς νόσου, κατ' ἀρχὰς δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἀνεκτὸς ἦν.*

[1] *ἔγωγ' ἐν ὅσῃ*] *ἐν ὅσῃ ἔγωγε* Emperius.
[2] *παρόντων*] *προσόντων* Hartung.
[3] *ἕλκους* added by Emperius.

sacrifice if they would overcome the foe; else, I declared, our expedition was being made in vain. Yet what hast thou to do with Palamedes' lot?

Od. Know well, the cursed feud was visited on all his friends, and all have perished, save such as could take to flight. Thus I too during the night just sped, sailing across alone, found refuge here. So I myself am placed in much the same necessity as thyself. If, then, thou hast some scheme, by adding thy eagerness to mine touching my voyage home, thou wilt have done a kindly deed toward me and wilt besides send home to thy own friends him who will bear the story of thy present ills.

Phil. Nay, wretched creature, thou art come for aid to such another as thou art, helpless himself and lacking friends besides, an outcast on this shore, in niggard fashion and with toil providing with this bow both food and clothing, as thou dost see. For what raiment I had before time hath consumed. But if thou wilt share with me here this life of mine until some second chance of safety falls thy way, I'd grudge it not. Distressing, truly, what thou wilt see indoors, my friend [1]—wrappings polluted with an ulcer's filth and other tokens of my malady—and I myself am far from being pleasant company when the pain comes on me. And yet the worst of my disease time hath assuaged, though at the start it was in no wise bearable.

[1] Cf. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, frag. 790:
δύσμορφα μέντοι τἄνδον εἰσιδεῖν, ξένε.

THE SIXTIETH DISCOURSE: NESSUS OR DEÏANEIRA

Dio's purpose in this little dialogue is apparently to display his dexterity in reconstructing Greek myth rather than to impart ethical instruction. A somewhat similar tour de force presents itself in the *Trojan Discourse* (Or. 11). Such exercises constituted a well-known feature of sophistic training and are not to be confused with the effort to rid ancient mythology of its grosser elements, an effort at least as old as Pindar.

In the present instance the myth in question seems not to have been popular. Though it may have figured in the cyclic epic, *The Taking of Oechalia*, there is no proof that it did. The only ancient Greek writers known to have dealt with the tale of Nessus and Deïaneira are the two named in the opening paragraph of our dialogue—Archilochus and Sophocles. All that is known of the version of Archilochus is contained in this brief reference and in two meagre scholia on Apollonius Rhodius and the *Iliad* respectively. The Sophoclean version is contained in his *Trachiniae*. There the murdered Nessus wreaks a posthumous vengeance upon his murderer in the manner here outlined by Dio. The dramatist puts into the mouth of Deïaneira herself the account of the attempt upon her honour (*Trachiniae* 555-577).

The anonymous interlocutor in Dio's dialogue is a colourless individual, whose function seems to be, first of all, to afford Dio an opportunity to display his dexterity, and finally, to pay "certain philosophers" the doubtful compliment of comparison with coroplasts. The natural inference from that comparison is that Dio himself has attained the standing of a philosopher; but the interlocutor does not say so in plain terms and there is little in the Discourse that smacks of philosophy. In general it seems more suited to Dio's sophistic period.

60. ΝΕΣΣΟΣ Η ΔΗΙΑΝΕΙΡΑ

1 Ἔχεις μοι λῦσαι ταύτην τὴν ἀπορίαν, πότερον δικαίως ἐγκαλοῦσιν οἱ μὲν τῷ Ἀρχιλόχῳ, οἱ δὲ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Νέσσον καὶ τὴν Δηιάνειραν ἢ οὔ; φασὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον ληρεῖν, ποιοῦντα τὴν Δηιάνειραν ἐν τῷ βιάζεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κενταύρου πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ῥαψῳδοῦσαν, ἀναμιμνῄσκουσαν τῆς τοῦ Ἀχελῴου μνηστείας καὶ τῶν τότε γενομένων· ὥστε πολλὴν σχολὴν εἶναι τῷ Νέσσῳ ὅ τι ἐβούλετο πρᾶξαι· οἱ δὲ τὸν Σοφοκλέα πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ πεποιηκέναι τὴν τοξείαν, διαβαινόντων αὐτῶν ἔτι τὸν ποταμόν· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν καὶ τὴν Δηιάνειραν ἀπολέσθαι, ἀφέντος τοῦ Κενταύρου. ἀλλὰ μή, καθάπερ εἴωθας,[1] πολὺ παρὰ τὴν δόξαν λέγε[2] καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ ὅ τις ἂν οἰηθείη.

2 Δ. Ἆρ᾽ οὖν κελεύεις με ταῦτά σοι λέγειν ἅ τις ἂν οἰηθείη ὀρθῶς οἰόμενος ἢ ἅ τις ἂν καὶ μὴ ὀρθῶς;

[1] εἴωθας Arnim : εἴωθε.
[2] λέγε Arnim, λέγῃ Geel : λέγει M, λέγων UB.

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[1] Pindar, in a poem no longer extant, told how Heracles, to whom in Hades Meleager had commended his sister Deïaneira, finding that she was being wooed by the river-god Acheloüs, fought and overcame him, and received from him the horn of Amalthaea, by means of which he gained his bride.

THE SIXTIETH DISCOURSE: NESSUS OR DEIANEIRA

Interlocutor. Can you solve me this problem—whether or not people are warranted in finding fault now with Archilochus and now with Sophocles in their treatment of the story of Nessus and Deïaneira? For some say Archilochus makes nonsense when he represents Deïaneira as chanting a long story to Heracles while an attack upon her honour is being made by the Centaur, thereby reminding him of the love-making of Acheloüs—and of the events which took place on that occasion[1]—in consequence of which recital Nessus would have ample time to accomplish his purpose; others charge that Sophocles has introduced the shooting of the arrow too soon, while they were still crossing the river,[2] for in those circumstances, they claim, Deïaneira too would have perished, since the dying Centaur would have dropped her in the river. However, do not, as you usually do, speak quite counter to the general belief and give any version rather than what a man would naturally believe.

Dio. Then do you bid me tell you those things which a man would believe who believes correctly, or what a man would believe even though not correctly?

[2] Nessus was accustomed to ferry passengers across the Euenus for hire. Cf. *Trachiniae* 562-568.

Ἐγὼ μὲν ἅ τις ἂν[1] ὀρθῶς οἰόμενος.

Δ. Τί οὖν ἃ[2] οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι δοξάζουσιν; ἆρά γε ἀνάγκη τὸν βουλόμενον ὀρθῶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι παρὰ τὴν δόξαν τῶν πολλῶν λέγειν;

Ἀνάγκη.

Δ. Μὴ οὖν δυσκόλως ἀκολουθήσῃς, ἐὰν τοιοῦτον ᾖ τὸ λεγόμενον· σκόπει δέ, εἰ μὴ δεόντως λέγεται.

Λέγε τοίνυν καὶ ἐξηγοῦ, ὅπως σοι δοκεῖ.

Δ. Οὐκοῦν λέγω[3] σοι ὅτι ὅλον τὸ ἀγνόημά ἐστι[4] περὶ τὸν μῦθον τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖν τὸν Κένταυρον συγγενέσθαι τῇ Δηιανείρᾳ.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐπεχείρησεν;

3 Δ. Οὔ. ἢ σοὶ δοκεῖ πιθανὸν εἶναι ἐν ὄψει Ἡρακλέους τόξα ἔχοντος καὶ πεπειραμένον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς πρότερον, ἡνίκα μόνος τῶν Κενταύρων αὐτὸς διέφυγε παρὰ τοῦ Φόλου μηδὲν ἐκείνων τοιοῦτον ἀδικησάντων αὐτόν, ἐπιχειρεῖν συγγενέσθαι αὐτοῦ τῇ γυναικί;

Ἔχει μέν τινα ἀπορίαν τὸ τοιοῦτο· ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦτο κινοῦντες καθόλου τὸν μῦθον ἀναιρῶμεν.

Δ. Οὐδαμῶς, ἂν προλογιζώμεθα[5] ὡς ἐγένετο καὶ εἰκὸς ἦν γενέσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα.

Οὕτω δὴ λέγοις.

4 Δ. Ὁ Νέσσος τὴν Δηιάνειραν εὐθὺς διακομίζων

[1] ἅ τις ἂν Post: ἃ ἄν τις.
[2] ἃ added by Arnim.
[3] After λέγω Pflugk deletes τὸ νῦν.
[4] After ἐστι Arnim adds τὸ.
[5] ἂν προλογιζώμεθα M, ἄνπερ λογιζώμεθα Emperius, ἂν καταλογιζώμεθα Sonny: ἂν εἰ λογιζώμεθα BU.

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[1] I.e., contrary to the belief of the masses.
[2] He is referring to the Fourth Labour, the hunting of the

Int. I prefer what one would believe who believes correctly.

Dio. Then what about beliefs which the masses hold? Must he who desires to interpret correctly speak counter to the belief of the masses?

Int. He must.

Dio. Then do not be irritated as you follow the argument, if what is said is of that nature,[1] but rather consider whether it is not suitably expressed.

Int. Very well, speak and proceed with your exposition as seems good to you.

Dio. Very good; I tell you that the whole misconception connected with the myth is the matter of the Centaur's attempt to violate Deïaneira.

Int. What, did he not attempt it?

Dio. No. Or does it seem to you plausible that in full view of Heracles, who was carrying his bow, and after having previously had experience of Heracles' valour—the time when he alone of the Centaurs escaped from the cave of Pholus, though they had done no such injury as that to Heracles[2]—Nessus should attempt to violate the hero's wife?

Int. Yes, there is a certain difficulty in a matter of that sort; however, if we raise this question, perhaps we may destroy the myth altogether.

Dio. By no means, provided we consider first how the affair occurred, and how it was likely to have occurred.

Int. Very good; I wish you would tell me.

Dio. Nessus attempted to corrupt Deïaneira the

Erymanthian Boar. Heracles was being entertained by the Centaur Pholus when other Centaurs made a raid upon the cavern, only to be routed by Heracles. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2. 5. 4, informs us that Nessus was not the only Centaur to escape.

καὶ ἐν τῷ περᾶν ἐπεχείρει διαφθείρειν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, οὐχ ὅν φασι[1] βιαζόμενος, ἀλλὰ λόγους ἐπιτηδείους λέγων πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ διδάσκων ὅπως κρατήσει τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, λέγων ὅτι νῦν μὲν ἄγριός ἐστι καὶ χαλεπὸς καὶ ὀλίγον τινὰ χρόνον αὐτῇ συνέσται καὶ τοῦτον δυσκόλως διὰ τοὺς ἄθλους καὶ τὰς ἀποδημίας καὶ τὸν βίον ὃν προῄρηται. ἐὰν δ', ἔφη, σὺ πείσῃς αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν θεραπείᾳ, τὰ δὲ λόγοις, τῆς μὲν ταλαιπωρίας ταύτης καὶ τῶν πόνων ἐπανεῖναι ζῆν δὲ ῥᾳθύμως καὶ ἡδέως, σοί τε πολὺ πρᾳότερος ἔσται καὶ ἄμεινον βιώσεται καί σοι τὸν[2] λοιπὸν ἤδη συνέσται χρόνον οἴκοι μένων.

5 Ταῦτα δὲ διηγεῖτο[3] ὁ Κένταυρος ἐπιβουλεύων τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, εἴ πως δύναιτο αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τρυφὴν ἀγαγεῖν καὶ ῥᾳθυμίαν· ᾔδει γὰρ ὅτι ἅμα τῷ μεταβαλεῖν τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν εὐχείρωτος ἔσται καὶ ἀσθενής. ἡ δὲ Δηιάνειρα ἀκούουσα οὐ παρέργως τοῖς λόγοις προσεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ ἐνεθυμεῖτο ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγοι ὁ Κένταυρος, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ βουλομένη[4] τὸν ἄνδρα ὑφ' ἑαυτῇ ἔχειν. ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ὑπονοήσας μηδὲν ὑγιὲς τὸν Κένταυρον λέγειν ἐκ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς τὴν Δηιάνειραν ἐπιμελῶς, καὶ ὅτι ἐκείνη

6 προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ, οὕτως δὴ ἐτόξευσεν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ἀποθνῄσκων οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐκέλευσε τὴν Δηιάνειραν ἀναμνησθῆναι ὧν εἶπε καὶ ποιεῖν ὡς αὐτὸς παρῄνεσεν.

[1] τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, οὐχ ὅν φασι Reiske: αὐτὴν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον φασὶν M, τὸν αὐτοῦ τρόπον οὐ φασὶ UB.
[2] τὸν added by Emperius.
[3] διηγεῖτο] διελέγετο Emperius.
[4] καὶ βουλομένη] βουλομένην Emperius, ἐρῶσα καὶ βουλομένη Gasda.

moment he began to carry her across the stream, as well as in the crossing, as I shall explain—not through violence, as men say, but by speaking to her words suited to his purpose and showing how she might obtain mastery over Heracles, saying: "Now he is fierce and stern and will stay with you only a short while, and that too in fretful temper, because of his labours and his expeditions abroad and the life he has chosen. But if," said he, "you win him over, partly by solicitude for his welfare and partly by argument, urging him to give up this life of hardship and his labours and to live a life of ease and pleasure, he will not only be far kinder toward you, but will also live a better life and remain at home and keep you company from then on."

Now the Centaur went into these details with designs on Heracles, in the hope that he might somehow turn him in the direction of indulgence and indolence, for he knew that as soon as he changed his mode of living and his occupation he would be easy to manage and weak. But Deïaneira, as she heard him, paid no casual attention to his words, but rather considered that the Centaur was correct in what he said, as indeed might have been expected, since she wished to have her husband under her control. Heracles, on the other hand, suspecting that the Centaur was saying nothing honourable, judging from the earnestness with which he was talking to Deïaneira, and because she gave him her attention, therefore shot him with his bow. But, though dying, nevertheless the Centaur bade Deïaneira to remember what he had said and to act as he had advised.[1]

[1] Like other details in Dio's exposition, this does not square with Sophocles' account (*Trachiniae* 568-577).

Ὕστερον δὲ ἡ Δηιάνειρα μεμνημένη τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κενταύρου καὶ ἅμα τοῦ Ἡρακλέους οὐδὲν ἀνιέντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μακροτέραν ἀποδημίαν ἀποδημήσαντος, τὴν τελευταίαν ὅτε ἐξεῖλε τὴν Οἰχαλίαν, καὶ λεγομένου δὴ ὡς ἐρασθείη τῆς Ἰόλης, ἡγησαμένη βέλτιον εἶναι ἃ παρῄνεσεν ἀνύεσθαι, ἐπιτίθεται
7 αὐτῷ καί, οἷον δὴ πέφυκε τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν αἱμύλον καὶ πανοῦργον, οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκε πρὶν ἢ ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν παραμυθουμένη[1] καὶ φάσκουσα ἐκείνου κήδεσθαι ὅπως μὴ κακοπαθῇ γυμνὸς τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ θέρους ὁμοίως ὑπομένων ἐν τῷ δέρματι τοῦ λέοντος, τὸ μὲν δέρμα ἀποθέσθαι, στολὴν δὲ ἀναλαβεῖν ὁμοίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις. καὶ τοῦτο δὴ ἦν ὁ λεγόμενος τῆς Δηιανείρας χιτών, ὃν ἐνέδυ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς.

8 Ἅμα δὲ τῇ στολῇ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν μεταβαλεῖν, ἐπί τε στρωμάτων καθεύδοντα καὶ μὴ θυραυλοῦντα τὰ πολλά, ὥσπερ εἰώθει πρότερον, μηδὲ αὐτουργοῦντα μηδὲ τροφῇ ὁμοίᾳ χρώμενον, ἀλλὰ σίτῳ τε ἐκπεπονημένῳ καὶ ὄψῳ καὶ οἴνῳ ἡδεῖ καὶ ὅσα δὴ τούτοις ἑπόμενά ἐστιν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς μεταβολῆς ταύτης, ὥσπερ ἦν, οἶμαι, ἀναγκαῖον, εἰς ἀσθένειαν καὶ μαλακίαν ἐμπεσὼν τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἡγησάμενος μηκέτ' εἶναι ῥᾴδιον ἀψάμενον τρυφῆς ἀποθέσθαι αὐτήν, οὕτως δὴ ἐνέπρησεν αὐτόν, ἅμα μὲν κρεῖττον οἰόμενος ἀπηλ-

[1] After παραμυθουμένη Reiske suspects a lacuna.

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[1] Daughter of the king of Oechalia.

Later on, when Deïaneira recalled the words of the Centaur, and when also Heracles did not relax at all but made an even lengthier journey away from home—his final journey, during which he captured Oechalia—and when in fact he was reported to have become enamoured of Iolê,[1] thinking it better that what the Centaur had advised should be accomplished, she set to work upon Heracles and—such is the nature of female wile and cunning—she did not desist until, partly by coaxing and saying that she was anxious about him, lest he come to grief by persisting winter and summer alike in going unclothed, wearing only his lion's skin, she at last persuaded him to doff the skin and put on dress like that of other men. And this, of course, was what is called the shirt of Deïaneira, which Heracles put on.[2]

But along with his dress, she made him change his mode of living in general, now sleeping on bedding and not camping in the open for the most part, as was his former custom, nor labouring with his own hands, nor using the same food as formerly, but rather eating grain most carefully prepared and fish and sweet wine and in fact whatever goes with these things. But as an outcome of this change, as was inevitable methinks, falling into weakness and flabbiness of body, and thinking that, having once adopted self-indulgence, it was no longer easy to lay it aside, he therefore set himself on fire, not only because he believed it better to be freed from such a life as that,

[2] Here Dio has allowed himself the utmost licence. In the *Trachiniae*—as doubtless also in the tale of Archilochus—Heracles is not subjected to this long course of moral suasion. The shirt of Deïaneira also was conveyed to him by messenger while he was still on his way home from his long stay in Euboea.

λάχθαι τοῦ τοιούτου βίου, ἅμα δὲ δυσχεραίνων ὅτι ἠνέσχετο τρυφῆς ἅψασθαι.

Ἔχεις δὴ τὸν παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγον, ὁποῖον ἐγὼ ἠδυνάμην, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μύθου εἰπεῖν.

9 Καὶ μὰ τὸν Δία οὐδαμῶς φαῦλος οὐδὲ ἀπίθανος δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι. καὶ οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως δοκεῖ μοι προσεοικέναι τὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐνίων περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἁμηγέπῃ τῷ τῶν κοροπλάθων. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τύπον τινὰ παρέχοντες, ὁποῖον ἂν πηλὸν εἰς τοῦτον ἐμβάλωσιν, ὅμοιον τῷ τύπῳ τὸ εἶδος ἀποτελοῦσιν· καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἤδη τινὲς τοιοῦτοι γεγόνασιν, ὥστε ὁποῖον ἂν μῦθον ἢ λόγον λάβωσιν ἕλκοντες καὶ πλάττοντες κατὰ τὴν αὑτῶν διάνοιαν ὠφέλιμον καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ πρέποντα ἀπέδειξαν· οἷον
10 δὴ μάλιστα ἀκούομεν Σωκράτη γενέσθαι. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ εἰς ἅπαντας δὴ λόγους καὶ πάσας διατριβὰς κατῄει,[1] καὶ πρὸς ῥήτορας καὶ πρὸς σοφιστὰς καὶ πρὸς γεωμέτρας καὶ μουσικοὺς καὶ παιδοτρίβας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δημιουργούς, καὶ ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ ἐν συμποσίοις καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ οὐκ ἐκωλύετο ἐξ ἅπαντος τρόπου φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ προτρέπειν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν τοὺς συνόντας, οὐκ ἰδίαν εἰσφέρων ὑπόθεσιν οὐδὲ πρόβλημα ἐσκεμμένον, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τῇ παρούσῃ χρώμενος καὶ ταύτην προσάγων πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν.

[1] κατῄει] καθίει Lobeck.

---

[1] Contrast with this *Trachiniae* 756-771.

but also because he was distressed that he had allowed himself to take up a life of luxury.[1]

So there you have my reasoning, such as I have been able to express it, regarding the myth.

Int. And, by Heaven, it seems to me not at all a bad one or unconvincing either. And somehow or other I have the feeling that the method of some philosophers in dealing with their arguments resembles in a way that of the makers of figurines. For those craftsmen produce a mould, and whatever clay they put into this they render like to the mould in form; and some of the philosophers ere now have proved like that, with the result that, whatever myth or story they take in hand, by tearing it to pieces and moulding it to suit their fancy they render it beneficial and suited to philosophy, the sort of philosopher in fact that Socrates in particular proved to be, as we are told. For Socrates indeed entered the lists in all kinds of arguments and all sorts of lectures—against orators, sophists, geometricians, musicians, athletic trainers, and all the other craftsmen—and, whether in palaestra or symposium or market-place, he was not prevented in any way at all from plying his calling as philosopher or from impelling toward virtue those who were with him, not by introducing any topic of his own or any preconceived problem, but rather by consistently employing the topic at hand and applying it to philosophy.

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